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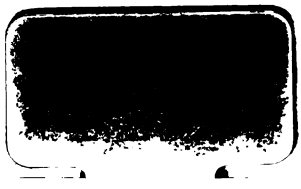


THE

MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION

EXPLAINED.

THE

MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION

EXPLAINED:

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF ITS PROGRESS,

AND

SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS CONFUTATION.

By J. D. MACBRIDE, D.C.L, F.S.A.,

PRINCIPAL OF MAGDALEN HALL,

AND THE LORD ALMONER'S READER IN ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SEELEY, JACKSON, AND HALLIDAY, FLEET STREET;
AND B. SEELEY, HANOVER STREET.
LONDON. MDCCCLVII.

110. k. 263.

W. M WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.

TO

THE REV. T. V. FRENCH, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
PRINCIPAL OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY COLLEGE AT AGRA.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WHILE you have been encountering in public, with "the sword of the Spirit," the arrogant and captious Moslems, I have in the retreat of our University, which you quitted with the noble ambition of extending our Redeemer's sovereignty, *completed* this view of Islam, with such suggestions as appeared to me best adapted for the confutation of this plausible, yet delusive system, which offers, indeed, to the idolater, a more rational creed, but cannot speak peace to the conscience of an awakened sinner. I therefore naturally dedicate it, not to any person who might take an interest in it as bearing on a subject of theological and historical importance, but to one who has been actively engaged in vindicating the integrity of the Word of God from the objections of Mohammedan disputants. I say completed, for it was begun several years since, but resumed when the war with Russia brought us into a friendly alliance and close connection with the Traditionists of the Sultan's dominions, and it now leaves the press when the mutiny of the Bengal army, excited, it is said, by the bribery of the schismatical division of the followers of the false Prophet, has endangered the vast and populous empire which Divine Providence has entrusted to England. While so occupied, the thought never crossed my mind that your efforts for the conversion of Mohammedans and Brahminists had been so suddenly and painfully suspended, and you had been compelled, with our other countrymen, to take refuge in the fort of Agra. Indeed, this awful judgment, more appalling than storm or pestilence, because manifesting in its most revolting features the

wickedness of unrenewed human nature, has taken all by surprise. Happily we do not despond at home or in India, for it has brought us to a throne of grace, to seek mercy and grace for seasonable aid in this hour of need. We have, indeed, cause to mourn, that for more than the first half of our century of rule the Government of India connected itself with idolatry, and shut out the truth; and that, even since the renewal of the Charter opened the Company's dominions to Christianity, Missions have not been established and supported with the zeal and energy that might justly have been expected from a nation professing to believe that they are bound to obey their Master's last command to preach the Gospel to every creature. We have, therefore, no services to plead: we can only pray, "O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy mercy's sake, and—let not the heathen say, Where is now their God?" We are told that the Sepoys are the dupes of political or fanatical Mohammedans, and we are amazed at the infatuation that renounces allegiance to over-indulgent masters for bondage to the weak and profligate descendants of their Mogul conquerers. May "the Most High, who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will," in judgment remember mercy, and restore to us in its integrity our Indian empire, and may we now accept it as a sacred trust for the promotion of His glory! Taught by experience the folly of reliance on worldly expediency, may we no longer encourage the perusal of the Korán, the Vedas, and the Puranas, and ignore the Bible! But while our rulers tolerate false religions, may they imbibe the spirit of the Bible, and re-establish our Government on Christian principles, and prove by their measures that these principles regulate their conduct. We know, that in our God's appointed time Islam must, like all false religions, fall, since He has promised his Son the "uttermost parts of the earth for a possession;" but we cannot hope that a faith which has taken so firm a hold of its professors, and has so moulded their characters, can fall without a struggle. Still the Moslem sovereigns now, instead of endangering, as they did formerly, Europe from the West and from the East, are maintained on their throne by the

armies or the forbearance of France and England, and there is scarcely a Mohammedan state in any part of the world which does not exhibit symptoms of internal decay. In India they have shewn that they can with Asiatic cunning contrive or avail themselves of conspiracies; but where is the ascetic bigot like Aureng Zeb, round whose banner they can collect; or the intrepid champion, who, like a second Tippoo, will lead them to a holy war for the extermination of those whom they hate as unbelievers, and as their conquerors? Above all, we are encouraged by the fact that their prophet has been unfaithful to his assumed mission as the Revealer of the Divine Unity, for he has connected it with the ceremonial Law of Moses, without any suspicion of its meaning, and has encumbered it with the silly rites of Pagan pilgrimage; so that reformers have sprung up among his adherents, in our own as in former ages, to reduce by arms his religion to a simple Deism. May our God, who "moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform," and controls the political as well as natural storms, cause the bright beams of the Sun of Righteousness to break through the black cloud, and enlighten and warm with their full effulgence the dark realm of Hindustan, which sad experience has now proved to be the habitation of cruelty! And that you, my dear friend, may be an honoured instrument in this blessed work of bringing both idolaters and Mohammedans to the acknowledgment of the truth of the Gospel of salvation, is the desire and prayer of your faithful friend,

J. D. MACBRIDE.

Oxford, October 1*st*, 1857.

PREFACE.

THE Church Missionary Society, in its origin small as the mustard-seed, has in fifty years expanded into a goodly tree, "whose leaves are for the healing of the nations." Commencing its operations on the western coast of Africa, it has now entered the interior, and re-appears on the eastern. It has a settlement among the Red Men of America; it has converted the cannibals of New Zealand; it is forming Christian villages both in Southern and Northern India; and has begun to penetrate the compact and densely-peopled empire of China. During the same period, the ancient Society for Propagating the Gospel, to whom we mainly owe the Episcopacy of North America, has put forth new energy; and having received from the Christian-Knowledge Society the care of the Danish Mission in Tranquebar, has flourishing stations in all the Presidencies of India. Dissenters, also, of almost every denomination, are actively engaged in spreading over the world the knowledge of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. A great impression has been made: the hereditary faith of multitudes has been shaken, and all can boast of converts, who prove their sincerity by their piety and works of Christian love. The wandering savage of the Red River, the Negro, the haughty Brahmin, and the despised Soodra, followers of Buddha, and atheistic Chinese, have all submitted to take upon them the easy yoke of our Lord. But there is still throughout Asia, and even in the interior of Africa, a religion which condemns polytheism and idolatry as strongly as our own, which in its numbers rivals the true faith, and, assuming to

be the final revelation of God, subdues the reason, and attracts the affections of its members, who realize in their conduct its maxims of resignation to the divine will, in a degree which is rarely equalled by Christians. Satisfied with his Koran, the professor of Islam condescends not to read the Scriptures of the old or the new dispensation, which his book tells him again and again have been corrupted; and while he honours Christ as superior to man, he chooses Mohammed for his lawgiver. Abdul Messeeh, the faithful convert of Corrie, who died a presbyter of our Church, ordained by Heber, stands out as almost a solitary instance. We can boast of hundreds, nay, thousands of converted idolaters, but where are the Moslems? To satisfy the gainsaying is no doubt far harder than to persuade the ignorant; and while improvement in secular knowledge will cause the Hindu to be ashamed of idolatry, and to renounce it for Atheism, or to discover Unitarianism as enveloped in his hereditary belief, it will be hard to convince the Mohammedan, who boasts that he believes only in one God, and thinks that his religion is that of Abraham and of all the Prophets, and even of Jesus himself; accusing us, like our own Unitarians, of exalting Him to a dignity which does not belong to Him, by associating Him as an equal with the only God. The difficulty, no doubt, is great, for Islam is, in truth, a religion congenial to the unrenewed heart: it has no mysteries to baffle and mortify the intellect; and in a great degree it gratifies pride, by making man his own saviour, in ascribing merit to good works and to religious ordinances, as fastings and prayers and pilgrimage. Every mission, however, has its peculiar difficulties, and he who has to dispute with the Moslem, who will turn against him his weapons, perverting passages of the Bible into predictions of his own Prophet, or maintaining that it has been corrupted, may derive comfort from the remarks of one who was placed under trials of an opposite character, and complains of the apathy of those who had no idea even of the existence of God. "No fragments remain to the Bechuana," writes Moffat, a distinguished Missionary in South Africa of the London Society, "as mementos

to the present generation that their ancestors reverenced any being greater than man. It has often occurred to me, while perusing the journals of Missionaries in India, how very different our mode of husbandry is from theirs, though having the same object in view, the gathering of spiritual food into the garner of our God. Some have thought our difficulties in Africa small compared with theirs. This may be so, but, among years of apparently fruitless labour, I have often wished to find something by which I could lay hold on the minds of the natives. We have no inquiries after God, no objections raised to exercise our powers in defence; but every Mohammedan reveres Abraham, Moses, and our Lord, and there are false notions of them to remove, and right ideas to introduce." Be the difficulties, however, what they may, and some Missionaries, by the constitution of their minds, are more able to grapple with them than others, the attempt has been rarely made. Yet, surely, it is an undertaking most honourable, and, if successful, like the conversion of the Jew, more efficacious in its influence on the heathen. I greatly regret, therefore, that the Mohammedans have been overlooked. Hitherto, indeed, in the Turkish dominions, where the confession of Christ would have led to martyrdom, the attempt could not have been recommended. But happily the providence of God has now opened the way, since the Sultan has proclaimed liberty of conscience to his subjects; and I rejoice to learn that the conclusion of this war will be commemorated in a manner worthy of Christians, by the erection of a Protestant English Church in the capital of our ally, and that the Church Missionary Society has already seized the opportunity of forming a Mission to Turkey. Among the Persians, too, though dissenting from what is considered the orthodox faith, the attempt might be hazardous. But our own India affords an ample field, in which, certainly, Missionaries would be exposed to no danger of their lives. Yet, even in India, they seem, as a matter of course, till of late, to have given their thoughts and endeavours exclusively to idolaters. This is a reproach which I am anxious to remove; and I will hope, that if the Committees

would give the question consideration, they would agree with me that the attempt ought to be encouraged. Our Missionaries, absorbed in these views, have, I apprehend, scarcely studied the doctrines of Islam, and are at present incompetent to confute them. I fully agree with those who think that the preaching of truth is better than the refutation of error; and one who is only taught by the Spirit of God, and finds Jesus to be the Saviour whom his soul requires, will need no elaborate arguments to convince him, either of the folly of Brahminism or of the hollowness of Islam. But there are doubters to be confirmed and established, and there are scoffers to be silenced; and he who undertakes to convert a Mohammedan should be able to point out the errors of the system from which he would withdraw him. To assist him in the endeavour is the object of the present publication, which consists of two parts: First, a review of the Mohammedan religion; and, Secondly, a suggestion of such arguments as appear to me best calculated to answer that end. I begin, then, with the religion; but, for the better understanding of it, some notion of its author, and of its rapid progress, seems to be desirable.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY,

ON THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE OF ISLAM.

It was on Mount Sinai, out of a bush, burning yet not consumed, that Jehovah called to Moses, who had been, during a long exile, a keeper of sheep in Arabia, and appointed him the leader of his people Israel. It was many centuries later, that, in the fortieth year of his age, the promulgater of Islam, who had been in the habit of retiring for a season for prayer and fasting to a mountain in a distant part of the same Arabia, announced that he had been commanded, not, indeed, by the divine voice, yet by the angel Gabriel, to complete, as the seal of prophecy, the dispensations of the Almighty, by restoring the faith of his presumed progenitor Abraham, which men had corrupted by associating with the Creator his creatures, comprehending under the same condemnation, the Polytheist, the Christian, who assigns to him a Son, and, strange as it may seem, the Jew.* Of the mission of Moses, which he reluctantly accepted, though confirmed at the instant by two unquestionable miracles, no reasonable doubt can be entertained; but for that of Mohammed we have no testimony but his own; and without adopting the feelings of rancorous opponents, exaggerating his offences, or rejecting whatever he taught that deserves the commendation of the candid, the result of an impartial investigation must be, that his claim to inspiration cannot be substantiated. The command to Moses was specific. The revelation which Mohammed

* The Jews say Ezra is the Son of God (Kor. ix. 30.) The Commentator Beidhawi observes that this imputation must have been true, because, when read to the Jews, they did not contradict it; but for this we have only his authority. He adds, that Ezra was called the Son of God, because he restored, from his recollection, the Law, which had been lost, and thus explains away the charge.

announced, was that of an abstract truth, which the Arabian Polytheists, if so disposed, might have learned from the Jews. The first article of his brief creed—"There is no God but God"—properly understood, is a vital truth, and, even as announced by him, had a most beneficial influence on the great body of his countrymen; yet to the Christian he came too late; for to them, not he, but Jesus, is the seal of prophecy, the Speaker who had already explained the will, and declared the nature of the Deity. To reject the Gospel for the Korán is reversing the Apostle's* exhortation. "*Leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on to perfection.*" We know that Jesus promised that the Paraclete whom He would send, unlike him who usurped the name, was to guide the Apostles *into the whole truth*, and that he was not to originate any new revelation, but *to take of His, and shew it unto them.* The work of redemption was, as the Saviour with his dying voice exclaimed, finished on the cross; and since He has risen from the grave, and ever liveth to make intercession, no further communication of the divine will is to be expected, or can be desired. Our Lord has left a solemn warning, that before the great and terrible day of His second advent, false prophets should arise, so specious, that if it were possible they would deceive even the elect; and we may suppose that he who divides with Him or another expected Messiah, the allegiance of all who acknowledge only one God, was in his mind when He said, *If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.*† It is as long since as the year 632 of our era that Mohammed went to his account, but his religion remains. It is shorn, indeed, of its triumphs, and instead of endangering Christendom, is hemmed in by Christian powers on the east and the west, and preserved not so much by its own vitality, as by their forbearance, the result of worldly policy. Still it retains, though modified by time and circumstances, the original type which he had impressed upon it. Throughout some of the most interesting regions of the world the scenes of great historic revolutions, including not only those which once

* Heb. vi. 1. † John v. 43.

boasted of Chrysostom and Athanasius, Cyprian and Augustine, but the Holy Land itself, the crier summons those who have, as they conceive, resigned themselves to God, to his simple ritual, from Belgrade to the Indian Archipelago, from Morocco to Delhi; and thousands of devoted believers undergo the privation and dangers of voyages and difficult journeys, to perform at Mecca the pilgrimage which he has enjoined. In Jerusalem itself, while it is only by permission of the Turkish authorities that Christians can visit the last short resting-place of their Lord's body, they and the Jew have been, till the present year, forbidden to enter the enclosure of the Temple, within which now rises a mosque, second only in sanctity to the Caaba, and venerated as the spot from which the false prophet is said to have begun his journey to heaven.

The merits of the conquerors and legislators who have ceased to influence the world, may be discussed with philosophical indifference, but it is not easy to examine with due impartiality the character of a man who announced himself to be the prophet of God, and has left behind him a book which has been accepted as the final revelation of the divine will by about a third of the human race. His early Christian opponents, beginning with the Byzantine historians load him with every opprobrious epithet, and allow him no redeeming qualities, and bring against him false charges. Some of our modern divines, as Bishop Sherlock and Dr. Whitte contrast his mixed and, in some respects, grossly faulty character with that only perfect one with which the best, though formed on that model, can stand no comparison; but none of them sufficiently consider, that while he honoured him whom he calls, though without understanding its full meaning, "The Word of God," he appreciated neither his immeasurable superiority to himself and all other moral teachers, nor the genius of his religion. More recent writers on Mohammedanism, as the Count de Boulainvilliers, go into the opposite extreme, it may be feared, from a wish insidiously to aim a blow through the false prophet at the true one. Even Gibbon, though his sketch is upon the

whole correct, might have introduced some darker shades if he had been a Christian. But Dr. Sprenger, who is probably better able than any other European to form an opinion, says, that "his dark and bloody fanaticism fills us with horror, and that his cunning weakens our faith in his honesty of purpose." "Of his last years," according to the historian of the Roman Empire, "ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect that he secretly smiled at the enthusiasm of his youth, and the credulity of his proselytes." Yet I apprehend that persons who claim to have revelations from heaven, though they may have occasional misgivings, are more often enthusiasts than hypocrites; and Mohammed's early reception was so discouraging, that it required a conviction of the reality of his mission to bear up, so long as he did, against the ridicule of his fellow-citizens. The result of my own meditation on his character is, that he believed himself commissioned from above to deliver his countrymen from the bondage of idolatry, from which he had contrived, we know not how, to free himself, and had no selfish personal consideration in his attempt to recall them to the pure faith of their presumed progenitor; but that he felt the difficulties that impeded his progress, and satisfied himself that the end justified the means. Probably he, to the end, regarded himself as a chosen instrument for declaring the unity of God, in opposition to all who associated with him any other object of worship; and such is the power of self-deception, that he might fancy himself exempt from the precepts which bound others. He might also be inconsistent; and, above all, we should recollect that the correct standard of morals recognised in all Christian states was unknown to him, and that he was not influenced by the restraining grace of the Holy Spirit. Upon the whole, I regard him as an enthusiast, with an intellect partially disordered; and yet I find it difficult to acquit him of deception, on consulting the Traditions, for they abound in answers to questions on almost every topic of faith or practice: he is never at a loss, replies without hesitation, and refers to Gabriel as his informer; and certainly this readiness, the result

of unceasing self-possession, is very suspicious. Mr. Kennedy* considers that his ability, as well as his wickedness, has been exaggerated in men's estimation, in consequence of his unparalleled success, and that, except in the decisive step of declaring himself a prophet, which might have proceeded from an heated imagination, without the slightest foresight of the future, he never commanded circumstances, but was commanded by them. Gibbon informs us that his general vouchers are Gagnier's translations of Abulfeda and Aljannabi; the first, an enlightened prince, who reigned at Hamah, 1310—1333; the second, a credulous doctor, who visited Mecca, 1556. He observes that both are modern historians, and cannot appeal to any writers of the first century after the flight, but in this remark has not shewn his usual accuracy, for the title of Gagnier's French life, which he transcribes, shews that it has been compiled from the traditions which profess to have been handed down from contemporaries; and, I may add, that Abúlfeda's narrative is confirmed by the earlier authorities that have been since published. It is indeed, like other Arabian annals, a dry chronicle; but though he does not enliven it by sitting in judgment on those whose history he records, he is, on that very account, the more trustworthy. The materials, indeed, for the life of Mohammed are most abundant, for their numerous chroniclers generally begin the series of their annals with his mission; and these may be traced up to the large and minute work of Tabari, who prefaces actions and speeches with the names of those on whose report they rest. A portion of this, beginning with the death of Mohammed, has appeared since Gibbon's time, with a Latin translation; and the more minute information he desired has been lately supplied by Weil,† who, with German laboriousness, has nearly exhausted the subject. His narrative is chiefly formed on two MSS. in the Gotha Library; the انسان العيون (Insan Alayun) of Ali Halebi, in four folio volumes; and the خامص (Khamis)

* Remarks on his character, in the third volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Society.

† Mohammed der Prophet.—Stuttgart, 1843.

of Ebn Mohammed, of Diarbekir, in two. These authors, it is true, are as late as the sixteenth century, but they copy earlier writers in their own words, and the latter enumerates a hundred who have contributed to his compilation. The former, more than a mere transcriber, endeavours to reconcile them when contradictory. New light is thrown upon the subject, by Dr. Sprenger,* from the Traditions and early authors, but unhappily his narrative proceeds no further than the flight. A complete biography of Mohammed would far exceed the limits I have assigned to this work. It is my intention only to dwell at some length on the commencement of his career, till the adoption of his cause by the inhabitants of Yatreb raised him to be an independent chief, and made him by degrees the master of their rival city, Mecca, and the greater part of Arabia. He may be called his own biographer, for his Korán was delivered piecemeal, as occasion required; and in the Traditions we have a still more copious source of information of his sayings and doings, which were soon collected, and the collectors are careful to record on the authority of what companions, though their authenticity must of course ever remain doubtful. These Traditions, and his biographers who chiefly compile from them their narrative, have disfigured it with many absurd legends, but it is not difficult to separate it from these miraculous additions, and to ascribe, for example, his victories to the enthusiasm of his earthly followers, instead of to the heavenly allies, visible only to his own eyes.

The Arabian peninsula is represented by Gibbon as a continuous triangle of spacious but irregular dimensions, washed by the Red Sea on the west, the Persian Gulf on the east, and presenting to the Indian Ocean a front of a thousand miles. Its entire surface exceeds four times that of Germany, but its population is much outnumbered by one of its circles, for the ancients justly divided it into three portions, the stony, the

* Life of Mohammad from original sources. Allahabad, 1851.

sandy, and the happy, which was the smallest. Deserts in which the scanty roving tribes, called Bedouin, that is, inhabitants of the country, pitched their tents, occupy the interior, and also part it from the rest of Asia, and have thus secured it from invaders. A considerable exception, however, must be made from its boasted independence; for on the north a Roman province, of which Bozra was capital, had been formed by Trajan, and the coasts of the Persian Gulf acknowledged the supremacy of Chosroës. The princes, too, of the tribes of Gassan and Hira were the tributaries of these great empires, and are often mentioned in their annals. The former were allowed by the Romans to encamp in Syria; the latter, by the Persians, to build a city only forty miles from the ruins of Babylon. The higher region facing the ocean was distinguished by a more temperate climate, and its vales were fertilized by rivers and clothed with trees, and attracted merchants by its frankincense. The Hamyarites, who peopled it, were advanced in civilization beyond the other tribes, which is proved by the great reservoir of Merab and other ancient monuments, and especially the inscriptions on them in an unknown character, different from the Cufic, which was only introduced into Mecca a little before the time of Mohammed. A long list of their sovereigns is preserved, one of whom had embraced the Jewish faith, and was so zealous a proselyte that he cast his Christian subjects who refused to follow his example, into a burning fiery furnace. This cruel zeal brought on himself ruin, and to them deliverance, from the Emperor of Abyssinia. Four of his viceroys reigned at Saana, the capital, till subdued by the Persians. The first of these, Abraham, the Abrahah of the Koran, had erected a church, which he was desirous of substituting for Mecca as the place of pilgrimage. An Arab contemptuously defiled it, and to avenge the insult he undertook an expedition for the purpose of destroying the temple there, which had been, time out of mind, revered by the whole nation. The year of Mohammed's birth is rendered memorable by this failure of the lord of the

elephant, as he is called, recorded in that brief chapter of the Korán, CV., which ascribes it to a miracle; for though polluted by idols, the Caaba was still holy in their prophet's estimation, for the sake of its founder, the friend of God. Both Nestorians and Eutychians, who had been driven beyond the pale of the empire, found a hospitable reception in Arabia: and this country, which has incurred the reproach of being fertile in heresies, had also sheltered Gnostics, who denied the humanity of the Son of God, maintaining that his enemies satiated their vengeance on an airy phantom, which only *seemed* to be nailed to the cross, and the Collyridians, the first who worshipped the Virgin as the queen of heaven, and from whom Mohammad had learnt the doctrine of her immaculate conception, long before its introduction into the Roman Church. The Jews had been settled in the Peninsula before the destruction of Jerusalem, which had greatly increased their number. They here enjoyed, not only liberty of conscience, but power, which they had long lost in their own land, and had converted several tribes from idolatry to the worship of one God, the Creator of heaven and earth. They gave Mohammed much trouble, and provoked his enmity, and brought down ruin on themselves, because, while they professed like him that there is no God but God, they could neither be terrified nor persuaded to acknowledge, what he made its inseparable appendage, his being His messenger. They were formidable neighbours, for their chief city, Khaiber, which was strongly fortified, was within six days of Medina, within which they had a party. They and Christians are both honourably distinguished in the Korán as people of the book, but they are at the same time accused of suppressing and corrupting important passages in the revelations with which they had been favoured. There were also in Arabia, especially in Bahrein, fire-worshippers, from whom Mohammed derived the most attractive portion of his book, a description of Paradise, and the circumstances which accompany the resurrection; for he seems to have been singularly deficient in imagination; and this deficiency supplies

one of the strongest arguments against his being an enthusiast. The worship of the sun and other heavenly bodies had also been introduced by the Sabians; and the original inhabitants, according to their fancy, worshipped, some one, some another of the stars or planets, and had images of other gods, of whom we know little more than the names and descriptions. Some of the Arabs acknowledged a Creator; others, as we learn from the Korán, rejected the doctrines, both of creation and restoration to life after death. Those who believed in them had the same gross notions as have ever prevailed among barbarians, and, like those of every age, thought it necessary to supply the dead with the property which they had used on earth. Thus the Arabs left a camel to perish with hunger by his master's grave, that he might not at the resurrection have to walk. They buried their infant daughters alive, to save the trouble of maintaining and educating them; and, from a vague notion of the necessity of appeasing angry gods, sacrificed human victims, at least on important occasions, a custom which, repugnant as it is to our feelings, has ever characterized Polytheism, till, as in Greece and Rome, it has been superseded by increasing civilization. Thus, Procopius, tells us of a royal captive sacrificed by one of their petty kings, an ally of the Emperor Justinian; and we learn from Porphyry that a boy was yearly offered by a tribe in the Palmyra desert; and their report is confirmed by national authorities, for Mohammed's own father had been devoted by a rash vow, and was ransomed with a hundred camels. It is extraordinary that the doctrine of expiation by the shedding of blood, familiar as it must have been to him from the custom of his countrymen, and justified and explained by the Scriptures, was rejected, and that he should have in his system (the only one so framed) neither the reality nor the commemoration of a sacrifice, especially since he adopted the kindred one of mediation, and made himself the channel of divine blessings to mankind, and of necessity, therefore, without any other cause than the arbitrary decree of God. He yielded, however, to prejudice, or could not, perhaps, alto-

* Le Bello Porsico, i. 28.

gether free himself from it, by retaining all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, which include the sacrifice of sheep and camels, which is so little in accordance with the pure Deism of his creed. Abstinence from swine's flesh, and circumcision, he also retained, but the latter silently, for it is not named as a rite in his book, nor, I believe, in the Traditions. The unwatered barren province of Hejaz, along the Red Sea, including, at an interval of near three hundred miles, Mecca and Yatreb, the first the birthplace, the second the hospitable retreat of Mohammed, which, in consequence, lost its name, in that of Medinat alnabi, the City of the Prophet, has, notwithstanding its natural inferiority to Yemen, been the most celebrated division of Arabia, as containing what had been from time immemorial the religious metropolis. Some superstitious fancy or tradition must have directed the choice of so unpromising a locality. Mecca stands in a plain, about two miles long and one broad, at the foot of three barren mountains: the soil is a rock, the water, even of the holy well Zemzem, within the precincts of the temple, is brackish, the pastures are remote, and grapes are brought above seventy miles, from the gardens of Tayef. The Caaba, or cube, الكعبة, a building twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-seven high, has a door and window, but is never reputed to have been the shrine of any idol. The Moslems ascribe its foundation to Adam, and its restoration to Abraham and his son Ishmael. Gibbon suggests that it was the temple, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus,* the superior sanctity of which was revered by all the Arabians; and, as early as seven centuries before Mohammed, it had been covered with a veil by a king of the Hamyarites. A person standing there, with his face to the East, would have Arabia Felix on his right hand and Syria on his left, and these words Yemen and Sham, are the names which Arabs give respectively to those countries. The Caaba stands within a spacious quadrangle, then containing 360 idols of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes, but the most conspicuous was the god Hebal, of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows, without

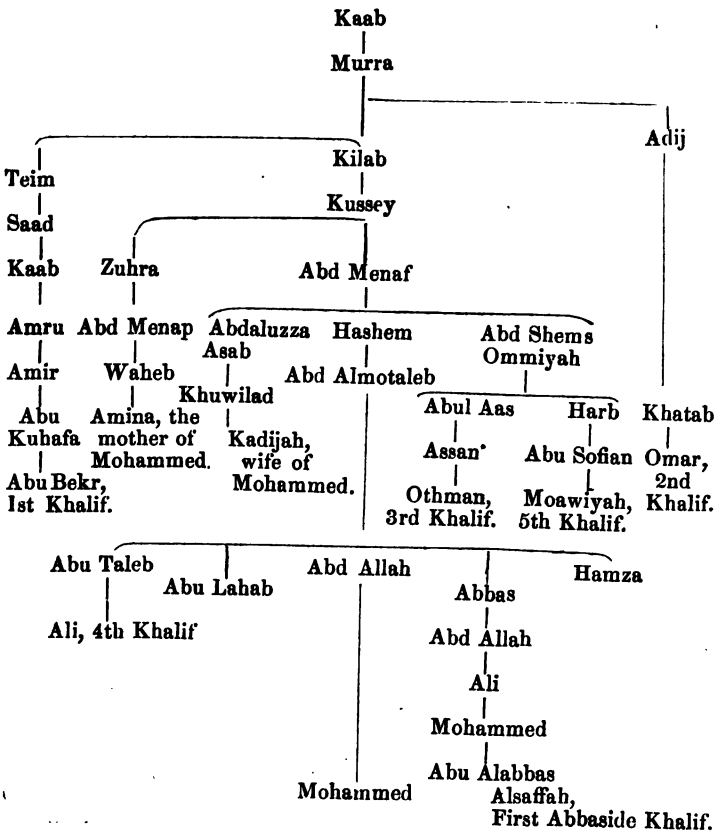
* Bibliotheca iii. p. 221.

heads or feathers, the instruments of divination; and it is a painful fact, that among these idols was an infant Saviour in the arms of his mother, taken, we may suppose, from a church.

Circumstances were favourable to the future pretensions of Mohammed, and led him to indulge in lofty aspirations. He had not, like many who have attained to imperishable renown, to emerge out of obscurity, for he was of the noblest descent, sprung from the tribe of Koreish, the acknowledged race of the friend of God, and from the family of Hashem, who, five generations before, procured, some said by fraud, others by open force, the guardianship of the national temple. The country they occupied was so unfavourable to agriculture, that they were driven to commerce. By the port of Jeddah they kept up an easy intercourse with Abyssinia, and the produce of Africa was conveyed by caravans to Katif, in the province of Bahrein, and thence was floated, with the pearls of the Persian Gulf on rafts to the mouth of the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris. Yemen was their winter, and Sham their summer resting-place, and so they saved the merchants of India the tedious navigation of the Red Sea; and in the ports of Yemen their camels were laden with its aromatics, while Bosra and Damascus supplied them with corn and manufactures. Thus wealth was diffused in Mecca, and its leading inhabitants combined the exercise of arms with the profession of merchants. They not only had fairs of business, but during the months in which their wars were by mutual consent suspended, an annual meeting, in which they contended in poetry; and the poems which obtained the prize were called معلقات (Moallakat), "the Suspended," because they were attached to the wall of the temple.

The spirit of the Arab is too independent to brook a despotic yoke, and Mecca, acknowledging as its chiefs the progenitors of Mohammed, was rather an aristocracy than a monarchy. His grandfather, Abdalmothaleb, was of a generous spirit, which his commercial profits enabled him to prove. He had had the good fortune to discover, five centuries after it had been

filled up, the spring Zemzem, erroneously supposed to have been the one shewn to the mother of Ishmael, their progenitor; and, only two months before his grandson's birth, he had preserved the city from capture by the Abyssinian Viceroy. His life was prolonged to 110 years, and he was the father of six daughters, and of no less than thirteen sons. I transcribe the pedigree, since the first four Khalifs spring from the same stock, and all Mohammed's uncles, with one exception, sided with him; and this family support was his chief protection at the commencement of his career.



Abdalmothaleb's younger son but one, Abdallah, celebrated for worth and beauty, married Amina, his equal in person and family. The grandfather called their son Mohammed, that is, the Praised; so unusual an appellation, that his guests, like the kindred of the father of the Baptist, said, "There is none of thy family called by this name." He was an only child: his father died prematurely, on his return from a commercial journey, and his widow felt his loss so acutely that her health gave way. She often fancied herself visited by spirits, and the nervous temperament and unequal development of her son's faculties were apparently an inheritance from her. He was suckled by a Bedouin woman, as was the custom of the richer inhabitants of Mecca, that their children might be bred in a healthier climate, and imbibe the genuine Arab pronunciation. When four years old he had a fit, and his nurse refused to keep him, thinking him possessed by an evil spirit. His mother did not long survive. He then lived under the roof of his grandfather, who on his death consigned him to the care of his eldest son, Abu Thaleb, who succeeded him in the guardianship of the Caaba. He had the same patrimony as his father, five camels, a flock of sheep, and a female slave, but being asked why he did not marry, he pleaded his poverty; and it is said that it was from his unfitness for the concerns of life that he was obliged to keep sheep. This was regarded as a degrading occupation; but he afterwards turned it to account, as a sign of his future prophetic office. He accompanied his uncle, in his youth, on a mercantile journey to Bosra, where they were entertained by Boheira, a monk, called by the Greeks Sergius, *i. e.* George, who charged him to take great care of him, for he would grow up to be a remarkable person. He is supposed to have been afterwards his assistant in composing the Korán; but this seems to me most improbable, for he need not go from Mecca, or from his family, to procure what knowledge he had gathered together concerning Judaism and Christianity, since he could associate without suspicion with many professors of each, and had at home a trustworthy adviser, in Waraka, his wife's cousin, who had passed through both, and seems, at least, to have read parts of the Scriptures.

It was under the same kind uncle that he made his first campaign against a Bedouin tribe. He had afterwards, with a partner, dealings in the linen trade, at the fair of Hajasha, in Yemen, and here he formed an acquaintance with the nephew of Khadijah, the rich widow of two husbands, who was, like himself, descended from the house of Hasham. His honesty was already so conspicuous, that he had acquired, before his twenty-fifth year, the title of Amin, (the faithful,) and was recommended to her as qualified to carry on her commercial speculations. At the suggestion of the relation who had introduced him, she made him presents and doubled his salary. Her regard warmed into love, and notwithstanding their disparity of years, twenty-five and forty, and the remonstrances of her father, she offered him her hand. It was accepted, and his gratitude, if not his affection, never allowed her to repent of this seemingly imprudent choice. The nuptials were accompanied by a splendid feast. Abuthaleb supplied the dowry, and his father-in-law was reconciled to the match. This wealthy and honourable alliance restored him to his original station, and gave to one with his views and feelings the inestimable benefit of ample leisure. He had been a successful trader, and had become by his marriage a wealthy citizen. This wealth, we may presume,was expended in advancing his design, for at his death he was owner of no more than a hundred sheep, twenty camels, and six goats, which supplied his family with milk. For months he never lighted a fire, and his food was of the coarsest bread; and though he was abstemious, this mode of life is mentioned by Ayesha as the result of necessity. The intermediate period between his marriage and his declaring himself the messenger of God, which, if fully known, might have determined how far he was an impostor or a self-deceiver, is passed over by all his biographers in silence. We only know that he shewed a decided love of retirement, and that he, like his grandfather, devoted the whole month of Ramadhan to acts of charity and piety, and withdrew, sometimes with his family and sometimes alone, to Mount Hara, in the vicinity. He had manifested his contemplative turn of mind in early life; and it is said, that when pressed by his young

companions to join in their sports, he used to reply, that man was not born for such vain pursuits. Khadijah brought him no less than four sons and four daughters. The former all died in infancy; and, notwithstanding the many wives and concubines he had in after life, he had only another child, by Mary, his Egyptian slave, Ibraham, who did not complete his third year.

He had become dejected and fond of solitude; he spent his time chiefly in Hara, fasting and praying, and returned only to Mecca for fresh provisions, and to take the sevenfold mysterious circuit of the Caaba. The period was favourable to the introduction of a purer and more rational belief. There were Jewish colonies in and near Medina, and individual professors of Judaism and Christianity in Mecca; so that, even if Mohammed had never assumed the Prophet's office, Paganism, in Sprenger's opinion, could not have much longer continued the religion of Hejaz. He quotes, from the earliest biography of the false prophet, an account of four men, who, at one of their idol feasts, expressed to one another their dissatisfaction with the national religion. "Our tribe," said one, "is corrupting the religion of Abraham, and are worshipping and walking round a stone, though it can do them neither harm nor good." They separated, and went in search of the true faith. Waraka, the cousin of Khadijah, who had great influence over Mohammed, became a Christian. Obaidallah, the second, a Moslem, and emigrated to Abyssinia, where he, too, embraced Christianity. After his conversion he used to say, "We see, and you attempt to see." His widow, a daughter of Abu Sofian, was aftewards married to Mohammed. Othman retired to Constantinople, and became also a Christian. Zaid, the fourth, renounced idolatry, but remained a sceptic. It was reported of him, that when very old he would lean against the Caaba, and say, "By him, in whose hand is the soul of Zaid, none of you, except myself, follows the religion of Abraham. O Lord, if I knew what form of worshipping thee is most acceptable to thee, I would adopt it. Shall I believe that there is one Lord, or a thousand? Is the government of the world divided? I neither believe in

Aluzza, nor her two daughters, nor in Ghanam. He was my Lord when my intellect was yet weak." Zaid also frequented this mountain, and it is not unlikely that they met, and that his conversation strengthened Mohammad's doubts concerning the gods of his fathers. Satisfied, by whatever means it might be, of that sublime truth, the unity of God, and viewing Judaism and Christianity only in their corrupt practice, and taking for a true exposition the distortion of doctrines by heretics, Mohammed longed to communicate to others this grand and influential article of faith; and, in the enthusiasm of an ardent temper, before failure had soured it, or success deteriorated his moral character, he might convince himself of the second article of his short creed, that he was the messenger of God, sent to revive what he called the religion of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus. Both Jews and Christians, he maintained, had tampered with the Scriptures, omitting passages, in which he was plainly foretold. "Abraham," says the Korán II., "was neither Jew nor Christian, but orthodox حانيف and مسلم (Moslem), resigned to God, Resignation. اسْلام (Islam), therefore, which is derived from the root which signifies سلام peace, is the distinctive appellation of his creed. It is also called امان (Aman), the Faith, a word familiar to ourselves, from our adoption of Amen into our Liturgy, and the participle مومنون (Mumenun), is rendered faithful, or believers. His own claim to belief is built upon the appearance to him of the angel Gabriel, whom he confounds, like some of the Jews, with the Holy Spirit, who brought to him, he said, not at once, but in portions as He needed, written passages of God's word, which, as he was an ignorant prophet, he read to him; and hence these revelations, when collected into a volume, have obtained the name of Koran—reading, that is, what pre-eminently deserves to be read. If, he said, he used to beg Gabriel to read slower, we might suppose that the enthusiast had sunk into the hypocrite. Many verses speak for themselves; but the long chapters which dilate upon Jewish history might have been composed at any time, and he had now, certainly, most leisure for the

purpose, and, if he had assistants, could employ them with less danger of detection. At length, in the month of abstinence, the night of power ليلة القادر arrived, in which the book, which had been written as a whole in heaven from the creation, begun to be revealed, it is said, to this chosen messenger of God. Undisturbed meditation increased his excitement, and his over-strained brain was occupied with visions. In one of these the angel called on him to read three times, and he refused. At length he continued, in the words of the Korán, XCVI.—"Read, in the name of thy Lord, the Creator who has created man of congealed blood—read, for thy Lord is most beneficent. It is He who has taught by the pen: it is He who has taught man what he did not know." Sprenger takes this for a command to read the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, which were acknowledged by him as revelations; and certainly it seems strange, if he was unable, how he could imagine that Gabriel used these words. Still it is the general opinion that it means the portion of the Korán then shewn to him, and the great majority both of Mohammedan writers and of Europeans affirm that he could not read; relying on his own declaration that he was the prophet of the Ummias, and was himself an Ummi (امّي), VII. 156. This is commonly translated "illiterate;" but others, from the etymology, maintain that it means an Arab, in opposition to a Jew or Christian, and some say, called illiterate because they had hitherto no prophet. After this appearance, there is said to have been an intermission of two years, during which he suffered hallucination of his senses, and several times contemplated self-destruction. His friends were alarmed, and called in exorcists, and he himself doubted the soundness of his mind. Once he said to his wife, "I hear a sound and see a light: I am afraid there are جنّ gins (spirits) in me:" and again, "I am afraid I am a كاهين (Kahin);" that is, a soothsayer possessed by Satan, "God," replied Khadija, "will never permit this, for thou keepest thy engagements, and assistest thy relatives;" and, according to some, she added, "Thou wilt be the prophet of thy nation." These sounds, as

from a clock or a bell, are enumerated as symptoms of epilepsy. In this morbid state of feeling he is said to have heard a voice, and, on raising his head, beheld Gabriel, who assured him he was the prophet of God. Frightened, he returned home, and called for covering. He had a fit, and they poured cold water on him; and when he came to himself he heard those words (LXXIV.), "Oh, thou covered one, arise, and preach, and magnify thy Lord;" and henceforth, we are told, he received revelations without intermission. Before this supposed revelation he had been medically treated on account of the evil eye; and when the Korán first descended to him he fell into fainting fits, when, after violent shudderings, his eyes closed, and his mouth foamed. Khadijah offered to bring him to one who would dispossess him of the evil spirit, but he forbade her. All his visions, however, were not of this painful nature. To Harith ebn Hisham's inquiry, he said the angel often appeared to him in a human form (commonly as his friend Dibla), and sometimes he had a revelation without any appearance. "Many," says an author much used by Weil, "he had immediately from God, as in his journey to his throne; many in dreams; and it was one of his common sayings, that a prophet's dream is a revelation." According to Ayesha, whenever the angel appeared to him, though extremely cold, perspiration burst forth on his forehead, his eyes became red, and he would bellow like a young camel. On one of these occasions," says a traditionist, "his shoulder fell upon mine, and I never felt one so heavy." Once the communicator came to him riding on a camel, and he trembled violently, and knelt down. He was angry when gazed upon during these fits. He looked like a drunken man, and they thought he would have died. It is difficult to form a positive judgment on such a person; yet enthusiasm, if at any time it deserted him, seems to have revived, for his conduct, during his last illness, is not that of an hypocrite. To enable the reader to judge for himself, I have endeavoured to exhibit Mohammed as he appears to have been, only adding, that his character is merely a subject of historical curiosity, for it is

the nature of the religion that he established that is the question of real importance, and that remains the same whether he was an imposter or a dupe.

Waraka, who is said to have made translations both of the Pentateuch and the Gospel, assured Khadijah that he must be the prophet predicted in the former, and she was easily persuaded to accept as true an interpretation so gratifying to her vanity and her affection. The boy Ali was the second convert; and Zaid, his slave, who was still young, the third, whom he immediately emancipated, but who was too much attached to him to leave him. The first convert out of his own family was Abubekr, a person of wealth and influence, of his own age, a most important convert, and the one who was to give stability to the system after his death as his Khalif or successor. Gibbon estimated his most arduous conquests to be those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend, since he presented himself as a prophet to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man. Yet, he continues, Khadijah believed the words and cherished the glory of her husband; the obsequious and affectionate Zaid was tempted by the prospect of freedom, and the son of Abuthaleb embraced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero. Their conversion, however, will not appear, on further consideration, so marvellous, for Mohammed does not appear in this early stage of his course to have shewn any of those infirmities incompatible with his appointment as a prophet to his countrymen, and he brought them no doctrine which would not bear the scrutiny of their reason, or was offensive to their pride or passions; and, according to the historian's own sketch of the religion of the Arabs, the most rational of them already acknowledged the power of one supreme God, though they neglected his worship; so that habit, rather than conviction, still attached them to their imperfect idolatry. This acknowledgment will go some way towards explaining the acquiescence of the first converts, and their profession would encourage others. Ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca, whose names are recorded,—among them Othman, afterwards Khalif, and Abu Obeida,

the future conqueror of Syria, were privately instructed in his doctrine, and three years were silently employed in the conversion of the first-fruits of his mission, no more than fourteen proselytes. So slow a progress was little better than a failure, and therefore he summoned resolution to make a public declaration of his religion. He began by inviting to a humble repast the heads of his powerful family. Abu Lahab, one of his many uncles, but, while he lived, his chief opponent, and accordingly stigmatized in the Korán, CXI., contrived that the party should break up without his having an opportunity to address them. He repeated the invitation, and determined not to be again foiled. Still he waited a month before he took courage to speak. "I know no man in Arabia who can propose to his relations any thing more excellent than what I now offer you, the happiness both of this world and of that which is to come. God Almighty hath commanded me to call you to his service: who among you will become my brother, and my وزير (vizir), porter, to bear my burden?" No answer being returned, Ali's impatience broke the silence. "O prophet of God, I will be thy vizir: I will beat out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip open the bellies, and cut off the legs, of all who shall dare to oppose thee." Mohammed embraced him, and desired all the company to obey him. "This is my brother, my deputy, my Khalif, (that is, my successor,) therefore shew yourselves obedient to him." They burst into laughter, and ironically exhorted Abuthaleb to respect the superior dignity of his son. The title of Khalif, as here given Ali, is remembered by his followers, who condemn and curse his three predecessors in that office as interlopers. The chiefs of the Koreish wished Abuthaleb to abandon his nephew, but, though not converted, he retained his partiality for him, and remonstrated with him on the unreasonableness of his attempt. He, however, was not to be terrified by his enemies, or moved by the entreaties of a friend; positively telling him that if they could set against him the sun on his right hand and the moon on his left, they should not divert him from his course. His failure with his own family determined him to try the

people. He was continually in the temple addressing all comers, and enlarging on the folly of idolatry. He asserted the liberty of conscience, disclaiming force, and even endeavouring to win over Jews and Christians, by requiring the reception of their books as well as of his own. (Kor. xi. 4.) He called the Gospel the illuminating book, (v. 161.), the light and guide of life, and asserts that, as it confirms the Old Testament, so it is itself established by the Korán. (ii. 44, 91, 97, v. 54-56.) He even declared that the assertion that there is only one true religion rests upon insupportable pride, as it assumes that all nations are not equal objects of divine goodness; that the cause of diversity of religions must be looked for in the divine decrees, and that it will only in the next world be discovered who has professed the truth; and that it is sufficient for Jews, Christians, and Moslems to live in accordance with the divine word known to them, and to give their account on the day of impartial judgment (v. 21): and, still plainer, that God had impressed a particular religious and moral character on each nation; and since it had not pleased Him to unite them all into one religion, each would be judged by its own. The Arabs, who had no book he called to repentance, and conjured them to remember the idolaters of old, and the tribe of Thamud, which divine justice had swept away from the face of the earth. (Korán vii.) He had little success, yet his cause was strengthened by the conversion of Hamza, the youngest of his uncles, and his foster-brother, pre-eminent for bravery, and of Omar, a violent opponent, who had meditated his murder, but was instantaneously converted by overhearing a passage of the Korán. Still, so discouraging was his condition that he was exposed to continual insults and violence, to which he patiently submitted, while he permitted his few followers, whom he could not protect, to seek a refuge. This they found in Abyssinia, to the number of about eighty, including Othman and two of his own daughters, from the Christian sovereign, who refused to give them up to the Koreish. He now ventured, notwithstanding, to announce himself, not merely as the reformer of Arabia, but as a messenger to the red men and to

the black, that is, to all; and he required his few proselytes to believe in one God, and in himself, his apostle, and to purify themselves by ablutions. As his doctrine began to spread, the Koreish made a solemn league against the whole family of Hashem, who protected him, though he could not convince them, and all repaired to Abuthaleb as their head, excepting his uncle Abu Lahab, surnamed Abduluzza, who went over to the opposite party, the chief of which was Abu Sofian, of the family of Ommiyah, also sprung from a common ancestor.

The third year after is called the year of mourning, because Mohammed lost in it his faithful wife and his kind uncle. The death of his powerful protector, Abuthaleb, who loved him, though he never acknowledged him as his guide, and seems to the last to have been faithful to his idols, brought on the crisis of his fate. He found it prudent to retire from Mecca, and he selected Tayef, as under the influence of another friendly, though unconverted uncle, Abbas, who had property in it. He found, however, no better reception there than at Mecca, and, after no longer stay than a month, he was obliged to return. The pilgrimage saved him the labour of itinerating, by bringing worshippers from other tribes; and worship, the object for which they chiefly came, would solemnize their minds, and might render them accessible to his attempts. He used to take pilgrims aside, and, reciting to them passages from the Korán, say, "These are proofs of my mission: God commands you to reject what is unworthy of Him, and to worship Him alone. His will is that you should believe and obey me." But his efforts failed, and they naturally taunted him with the unbelief of his fellow-citizens, who must be the best qualified to judge of his pretensions. In this extremity it pleased God, in his wise yet mysterious providence, to raise up assistance and deliverance, in the most gradual manner, from the rival city, Yatreb, the inhabitants of which, from their intercourse with the Jews, who were looking for the consolation of Israel, might be better prepared to hear of a prophet arising out of their own branch of the family of

Abraham. These Jews had been oppressed by the idolaters, and sometimes they were heard to say in their misery, "Oh, if the time of the Messiah were come, we would go to Him." "But," says Tabari, "when our prophet was born among the Arabs, and not as they expected, they rejected him." The feeling of the Jews seems to have encouraged him to assume the office of a prophet; and if they had acknowledged him he might have contented himself with endeavouring to restore to its former glory the religion of Moses. As long as he had any hope of them, he instructed his followers to turn in prayer to the site of their Temple; and it was not till he had finally broken with them that he substituted for it the Caaba. When they rejected him he declared they had corrupted their religion and that he was sent to restore the only pure faith, that of Abraham, the father at once of their nation and of his own. But as the God of Abraham was avowedly the God both of Jews and Christians, the Korán has an extraordinary number of tales from the traditions of the former and the spurious scriptures of the latter. From them he learnt to appoint fasts, and to set apart one day in the week for public worship; but as they had only the synagogue service, and sacrifices could no longer be offered, his system has no propitiation, and when he differs he retains the customs of the Arabs. Among the visitors to the Caaba were six respectable men of Yatreb, between which city and Mecca there had long been an implacable hatred growing out of commercial jealousy. They said, "Who knows if this be not the prophet whose coming the Jews so anxiously expect? Should they receive him we shall be reduced to the greatest difficulties. It is therefore expedient that we should anticipate them, and receive him before they can." He preached to them the divine unity, temperance, and abstinence from their cruel custom of destroying their new-born daughters. On their return they propagated their new faith with far greater success than the founder, for there was soon scarcely a house in which there were not some Moslems. The report of their success gave him confidence. Hitherto he had acknowledged that he had not the gift of miracles. "You

continually cite the examples of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus," say his adversaries: "work miracles like them, and we will believe you." They shew him a hill of red earth. "Change it into gold, and we will acknowledge our defeat." (K. VI.) He replied, that though these prophets had worked miracles the people were no better; that when God set aside the laws by which He governed the world, He would not fail to punish severely those who had refused to believe in the signs of his power; and that he himself would not bring down this judgment upon his unhappy country. He now changed his tone, and appealed to his journey one night, first to Jerusalem, and thence through all the heavens to within a bow-shot of the throne of God. It is minutely narrated in the Traditions (XVII.); but it is remarkable, that in the Korán (XVIII.) there is only one brief reference to it. The story was too marvellous to be credited; but Abubekr came to his help, declaring that he would vouch for the truth of whatever Mohammed had said, which obtained from him the surname, with which he is still honoured, of the faithful witness. "As often as he is pressed," says Gibbon, "by the demands of the Koreish, he involves himself in the obscure boast of vision and prophesy, appeals to the internal proofs of his doctrine, and shields himself behind the providence of God, who refuses those signs and wonders which would depreciate the merit of faith, and aggravate the guilt of infidelity." The Korán itself he declares a standing miracle; nor would he have so frequently brought forward a challenge to his contemporaries which might be dangerous, if he could have appealed to other credentials less disputable and more impressive. His followers, however, are determined to give him the power he disclaims, building up a few ambiguous passages of the Korán, and appealing to the Traditions. The chroniclers, such as Abulfeda, disfigure their narratives with absurd legends of angels waiting upon him, even before his mission, such as Gabriel carrying a cloud over his head to screen him from the heat of the sun's rays; which, repeated by her servants to Khadijah, induced her to propose marriage to him. They are mostly of the childish character which distinguish the wonders of the spurious gospels

from the miraculous acts of mercy recorded in the authentic ones; for they affirm that trees went forth to meet him; that he was saluted by stones; that water gushed from his fingers; that he split the moon in two; that a beam groaned to him; that a camel complained to him; and that a shoulder of mutton off which he dined informed him, though too late, of its being poisoned. De Sacy thinks that these acts were assigned to him by his enthusiastic followers; and that, though he did not claim the power of working miracles, he willingly encouraged the delusion. We know, from the Korán, that he ascribed his first victory to the assistance of thousands of angels who fought for him, though seen only by himself. So forlorn was his state, that he even proposed to his few Yatreb converts to secure him an asylum. This they truly stated was beyond their power, for their city was inhabited by two hostile tribes; but at the next pilgrimage they would be able to give him an answer, since, in the interval, God might restore them to peace. They returned and offered him protection. Their zeal overlooked obstacles, for they were no more than twelve. Mohammed met them on mount Akaba, a short distance from the town, and there they may be said to have laid the foundation of his sovereignty; for they took an oath to renounce idolatry, not to steal, not to commit fornication, not to put their female infants to death, not to calumniate, and to obey all his reasonable commands. He then sent Masab back with them, who was well qualified for the office, for there was soon not a house in which some had not embraced Islam; and this was also the commencement of the practice of religion, for he began to assemble the converts to hear him discourse, and to unite in social worship on the Friday, which thus became, in contradistinction to the Jewish sabbath, and the Christian Lord's-day, the Mohammedan day of meeting. The next year they again visited Mecca, and their number had increased to seventy-three. He met them again, by night, and was now accompanied by his uncle Abbas, like Abuthaleb, his protector, though not his convert, who was one of the ten chiefs who had the guardianship of the sacred well. He cautioned them against be-

traying the confidence his nephew was disposed to place in them, since his family connection could still protect him at home. They renewed their protestations of fidelity, and Abbas recommended him to accept their offer. This second secret nocturnal meeting Gibbon calls a political association, the first vital spark of the empire of the Saracens. "But if you are recalled to your country," they asked, "will you not abandon your new allies?" "All things," he replied with a smile, "are now common between us: your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin: we are bound to each other by the ties of honour and interest. I am your friend, and the foe of your foes." "But if we are killed in your cause, what will be our reward?" "Paradise," replied the acknowledged prophet. "Stretch forth your hands." They stretched them forth, and reiterated the oath of fidelity. Their treaty was ratified by their fellow-citizens, who rejoiced in his promised residence among them, but trembled for his safety, and impatiently expected his arrival. He then, in imitation of the Son of God, selected out of them twelve as his apostles. This promise of Paradise to those who fell in his cause is confirmed by the Korán; and is the earliest justification of promoting the faith by the sword; and he endeavours to strengthen this encouragement by the authority of the law and the gospel. Abu Sofian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah, had now succeeded to the presidentship of the Republic. A zealous votary of the idols, and a mortal foe of the line of Hasham, he convened an assembly of the Koreish and their partisans to decide on his fate. His imprisonment might drive enthusiasts into desperate measures, and the exile of an eloquent preacher of a new faith would diffuse this mischief throughout Arabia. His death was voted, and they determined that a person of each tribe should be employed, that, by extending to all the guilt, they might baffle the blood avenger. Immediate flight was now his only resource. His followers had been gradually dismissed to the friendly city, himself, with Abubekr and Ali, alone remained, and two camels were kept saddled in readiness. Their flight was abrupt. At the dead of night he silently escaped with the

father of his affianced bride. The assassins watched at the door, but they were deceived by Ali, who lay in the bed, covered with Mohammed's green cloak. The Koreish respected the devotion of their kinsman, some of whose verses, if we may depend upon their authenticity, exhibit an interesting picture of his state of anxiety and religious confidence. Three days Mohammed and his companions were concealed in the cave of Tha, at the distance of a league; and each evening they received a secret supply of provisions from a son and daughter of Abubekr. The diligence of their enemies explored every haunt in the neighbourhood. They arrived at the entrance of the cavern, and a spider's web, and a pigeon's nest, which the Moslem writers consider as a providential interference, are supposed to have convinced them that the place was unoccupied. "We are only two," said the trembling Abubekr. "There is a third," replied his companion: "it is God himself." No sooner was the pursuit abated than the fugitives issued from the cave, and mounted their camels. On the road they were overtaken by the assassins, but the leader, attempting to seize him, the horse twice fell under him, and this happy accident, and a prompt prediction from Mohammad of his future exploits in his service, induced him to retire. They proceeded to Keba, two miles off, where they lodged four days, and, on the sixteenth from their flight, made their public entry into Yatreb, the name of which is, henceforward, مدينة ٱلنّابي (Medinat Alnabbi) "the city of the prophet." His هجرة—Hegira, Flight, was appointed by his successor Omar, eighteen years after, to mark the lunar years of the Mohammadan nations, in imitation probably of the Christian era of the martyrs, and, being antedated sixty years, coincides with Friday, July 16, 622. Five hundred of the citizens advanced to meet the triumphant exiles. Mohammed was hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion: he was mounted on a she camel, an umbrella, the eastern emblem of dignity, shaded his head, and a turban was unfolded before him, to supply the want of a standard. His most zealous adherents, who had been dispersed by the storm,

rallied round him; and the equal, though different merits of these two divisions of the faithful, the believers of Mecca and of Medina,—were henceforward distinguished by the epithets of *fugitives* مهاجرون (Mohajeruns) and أنصار (*Ansars, assistants*). The names of the most important of these his companions are preserved, and their respective claims on respect are nicely calculated. The highest place is assigned to Khadijah, Ali, Zaid, Abubekr, and those who immediately followed their example; the second includes Omar, and all the contemporary converts; the third, the first fugitives to Abyssinia; the fourth, fifth, and sixth, the three parties who successively met him at Akaba; the seventh, the Mohajeruns who joined him at Medina; the eighth all who fought the first battle of Bedr; the ninth, those who came over to him between the battle and his inauguration at Hodeibeya; the tenth, those who took the oath of fealty to him; the eleventh, those who embraced Islam between that and the reduction of Mecca; the twelfth, those who were compelled to profess it on its surrender; and the thirteenth, all who had seen him, but were children at his death.

On his establishment at Medina, where he fixed his abode, he assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal offices, and it became impious to appeal from the decision of an inspired sovereign. His first occupation was to purchase a small portion of ground, on which he built a simple dwelling and a place of worship.* He now consummated his marriage with Ayesha, and thus bound himself closer with the father of the girl, بكر Bekr, who is so constantly called by that title, that his name has been forgotten; and about the same time added affinity to consanguinity, by uniting his faithful Ali to his favourite daughter Fatimah. Raised to sovereignty by the choice of an independent people, and invested with the prerogative of waging war, he now appears in a new character, which naturally excites the suspicion that his former forbearance was only the effect of weakness, for he is now commanded to propagate Islam by the sword, to destroy all monuments of

* In Arabic, (masjid), مسجد, which has been corrupted into "mosque."

idolatry, and, without regarding the sanctity of days and months, to carry on war against unbelievers. He also presumes to ascribe the same bloody precepts to the Pentateuch and the Gospel; not comprehending the distinction between universal war and the extermination of the devoted nations from the land of Israel, and confounding the mild genius of Christianity with its gross abuses by those who injure it by professing it. The option, however, of alliance, submission, or battle, was proposed to unbelievers. On professing Islam, they were admitted to all the privileges of primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the faith which they had once opposed, while those who remained faithful to their creed were tolerated on the payment of tribute. In the first months of his reign he practised the warfare he authorised, and afterwards fought in person at nine battles or sieges, and in ten years achieved fifty enterprises by himself, or his lieutenants. The spoil was faithfully collected into one common mass: a fifth of all was reserved for pious and charitable uses; the remainder was shared in adequate portions by those who fought and those who guarded the camp: the rewards of the slain devolved to their widows and orphans, and the increase of cavalry was encouraged by a share to the horse as well as to the man. The roving Arabs were allured to his standard by the hope of plunder. He sanctified the licence of taking the female captives for wives and concubines, and again and again he represented the enjoyment of beauty as a feeble type of the paradise prepared for the martyrs of the faith.

"The sword is," he says, "the key of heaven and of hell. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or one night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months in fasting or prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven: at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm: the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imaginations, and the death which they had always despised became an object of

hope and desire. The Korán also inculcates throughout the most unqualified predestination, and, with the exception of a few obscure sectaries, it has ever influenced, and still influences, the practice of the Moslems, leading them to regard even ordinary precautions against contagion as a sinful opposition to the divine decrees. "Every bullet has its billet," was the saying of an European predestinarian, and there can be no sense of danger where chance is excluded. His companions accordingly advanced to battle with fearless confidence, persuaded that those destined to die in their beds, must be invulnerable in the field.

It appears to me that long and earnest meditation led him to believe that he was born to reform the religion of Arabia, and that as soon as the enlightened but not sanctified mind of the disappointed visionary found his countrymen unmoved by his arguments and eloquence, and his life endangered, this belief stimulated him to use the sword, which he might consider given to him as a more effectual instrument; and he did not start at the means, which he might believe that the wars of the Israelites sanctioned, because he was satisfied of the justice and importance of the end. The injustice of Mecca, and the choice of Medina, had transformed the citizen into a prince, the preacher into a general, and the credulity of his proselytes, and his success, would tend to fortify his assurance of his divine mission. His interest and Islam were inseparably connected; and his conscience might be soothed by the persuasion that he alone was absolved from the obligations of his own laws; and the special revelation which relieved him, as a prophet, from all restraint, instead of producing scandal or envy, but increased the veneration of his followers. He had now determined to refer his cause to arms; but he first prudently determined to eradicate the seeds of jealousy between his new friends and his fellow-exiles, by forming a fraternity, in which one of each body was coupled with one of the other, with the rights and obligations of brethren; and Ali, finding himself without an associate, he feelingly declared that he would be his companion and brother. The expedient answered com-

pletely: the fraternity was respected in war and in peace, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity. Once only the concord was slightly ruffled by an accidental quarrel. One of the Medina assistants arraigned the insolence of the fugitives, but the threat of their expulsion was heard with abhorrence, and even a son most eagerly offered to lay at the apostle's feet the head of his own father, who had given the offence. In his sovereignty he retained the simplicity of his private life, having erected for himself an humble dwelling, surrounded by the huts of his wives, with whom he equally shared his time; of which his favourite, Ayesha, had more only because others made over to her their portion; and in his last illness, when she was his attendant, he had previously obtained their consent. He was also Pontiff, and the mosque may properly be regarded as his palace. He constantly led their devotions, offered up the public prayer, and preached at the weekly festival. First he leant against the trunk of a palm tree; and it was not till the eighth year of the flight that he indulged himself with the use of a pulpit of rough timber, and sat on the third or upper step. The modesty of Abubekr refused to go higher than the second; Omar was content with the lowest; Othman resumed the third; and Moawiyah added six steps, ascending to the highest.

On reaching Medina, he had made Jerusalem the قبلة (Kebla), that is, the object towards which to turn in prayer; but finding it more important to conciliate the pagan Arabs, after a few months he transferred it to the temple to which they had been, time out of mind, attached (Korán II.): endeavouring to justify the change, and inconsistently declaring in the same chapter—"To God belong the east and the west; therefore, whithersoever ye turn in prayer, there is the face of God." About this time he instituted the fast of the whole month of رمضان (Ramadhan), which may fairly be considered as a set off against the sensual indulgencies with which he is constantly reproached. He intended to distinguish his people from the Jews and Christians, and instead of the trumpets of the

former and the bells of the latter, he appointed مؤذّن muezzins, (criers) to call them at the hours of prayer.

From his new residence, Mohammed could retaliate upon his enemies, by intercepting their Syrian trade, upon which they were wholly dependent. An opportunity soon presented itself, for Abu Sofian himself, the keeper of the sacred standard, with no more than thirty or forty followers, was conducting a caravan of a thousand camels. He had escaped the vigilance of Mohammed, but he had learnt that he was awaiting in ambush his return. He despatched therefore a messenger to Mecca, and the citizens were roused by the fear of losing their merchandize to hasten to his assistance. This first army of Moslems ever brought into the field consisted of 313, of whom twenty were fugitives, and they mounted in turn seven camels, but such was their poverty, that only two could appear on horseback. In the vale of Bedr, between Medina and Mecca, on the high road from Egypt, Mohammed was informed of the caravan that approached on one side, and of the hundred horse and 850 foot of the Koreish, which advanced for its protection on the other. Power was dearer to him than wealth; a stream and an entrenchment hastily formed covered his troops. "O God!" he exclaimed, as the enemy descended the hills, "if these be destroyed, by whom wilt thou be worshipped: courage, my children: close your ranks, discharge your arrows, and the day is your own." So saying, he withdrew with Abubekr, to a hut which he had formed, and instantly demanded the succour of Gabriel and three thousand angels. This retreat secured his personal safety. Gibbon suggests a suspicion of his courage; Sprenger represents him as of a timorous disposition; and, contrary to the popular notion of him, it may at least be said that he did not, except when it was indispensable, take a prominent part in the battles in which he was engaged. The Moslems were hard pressed, and in that critical moment he started from his seat, mounted his horse, and cast a handful of gravel into the air, saying, "Let their faces be covered with confusion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice: his adherents imagined that they were

assisted by angels; the Koreish fancied them to be twice as many as themselves: they trembled, and, in their panic, fled: seventy of the bravest were slain, and the same number of captives adorned this first victory. His loss was only fourteen. The Koran (VIII.) expressly ascribes the victory to the angels. "Ye slew them not, but God slew them; neither didst thou cast the gravel into their eyes when thou didst cast it, but God cast it, that he might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from himself." The dead bodies were despoiled and insulted, two of the most obnoxious prisoners were put to death, and 4000 drachms of silver, the ransom of the others, compensated in some degree for the escape of the caravan. Abu Sofian in vain explored a new road through the desert, and along the Euphrates: he was overtaken by the diligence of the Moslems, and so great was the prize, that the fifth, set apart for the Prophet, amounted to 20,000 drachms. Resentment stimulated Abu Sofian to collect 3000 men, and his wife, Henda, with fifteen matrons, sounded their timbrels to encourage them with the praises of Hebal, the most popular of their deities. The standard of the only God was upheld by near a thousand Moslems, and the disproportion of numbers was not greater than in the victorious field of Bedr. This second battle was fought on Mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina. The idolaters advanced in a crescent, and the right wing of the cavalry was led by Khaled, the most celebrated of their warriors. The Moslems were judiciously posted on the declivity of the hill, and their rear was guarded by fifty archers. The weight of their charge broke the centre of the idolaters, but in the pursuit the advantage of the ground was lost, and the archers deserted their station, tempted by the spoil, and disordered their ranks. The intrepid Khaled, wheeling his cavalry on their flank and rear, exclaimed, with a loud voice, that Mohammed was slain. He had, indeed, been wounded in the face with a javelin, and two of his teeth were shattered with a stone; yet, in the midst of tumult and dismay, he reproached his enemies with the murder of a prophet, and blessed the friendly hand that staunched his blood, and conveyed him to a place

of safety. Seventy who fell were regarded as martyrs who died for the sins of the people: they fell in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeless companion: their bodies were mangled by the inhuman women, and the wife of Abu Sofian even tasted the heart of his uncle Hamza. This defeat had nearly proved fatal to Islam, as it tempted his men to question the claims to a divine commission of a prophet who was no longer supported by victory. To still their murmurs, he ascribed their defeat to the sins of some of the combatants, and produced a revelation declaring the unchangeable nature of God's absolute decrees. They soon rallied, and their opponents did not venture to undertake the siege of Medina. It was, however, attacked the ensuing year by an army of 10,000, and this third expedition is named indifferently from the *nations* who marched under the banner of Abu Sofian, or from the *ditch* which was drawn before the city. Mohammed prudently declined a general engagement, but the valour of Ali was signalized in a single combat, and the war was protracted twenty days, till the separation of the confederates. Their tents were overturned by a tempest, quarrels ensued, and the Koreish, deserted by their allies, despaired of subverting his power. This retreat enabled him to turn his arms against the Jews, who had excited and joined in the war; and on the very day on which the nations had retired from the ditch he marched against the hostile tribe of Koraidha, who, after a short resistance, surrendered at discretion to Saad, prince of the tribe of Aus, their old friends and confederates, relying upon their intercession: but their chief, incensed at their breach of faith,—for they had broken their league with Mohammed,—prayed that he might not die of the wound he had received till he had seen their just punishment. He therefore adjudged that all the men should be put to the sword, and the women and children made slaves. Mohammed, on hearing his decision, cried out that Saad had pronounced the sentence of God, and, in consequence, ordered the immediate massacre of between six hundred and seven hundred men. The horses he assigned to his *fugitives*, saying that his *helpers* had enough already: and the moveable

property he divided among his followers, remitting his own fifth. The author of this cruel judgment died soon after of his wound, and Mohammed spoke his funeral oration. The women were sold or exchanged for horses or arms; and a young damsel of peculiar attraction he added to the number of his wives.

Five times each day the eyes of the Moslems had been ordered to turn towards Mecca, and Mohammed was urged by the most powerful motives to revisit, as a conqueror, the city from which he had been forced to fly. The Caaba was present to his waking and sleeping fancy, and it is not surprising that he should dream that he had its key in his hand, and that he had performed the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. The next morning he told his dream to his followers, and it was accepted as a prediction and omen of the early possession of the object of their desire. This march, however, though at the head of 14,000 men, only displayed the peaceful pomp of a pilgrimage. Seventy camels, bedecked for sacrifice, preceded the van, and the sacred territory was respected; but the Koreish felt a reasonable jealousy, and, when he arrived on the borders of their territory, they forbade his entrance. The Bedouins, who had followed him less from piety than hopes of plunder, might be tempted to desert; the Koreish, as he said, had put on their leopard-skins; and on this occasion, at least, he "sunk into the cool and cautious politician," concluding a ten years' truce, on the condition that all within Mecca who pleased might join him, and all with him who chose to leave him might return, but that for the future any who came to him should be sent back on demand. It was also stipulated that he and his people might come on pilgrimage unarmed, provided they only staid three days. This zeal of his opponents was equal to that of his followers, for they refused to acknowledge his title of Messenger of God, and he consented to waive it, ordering Ali to substitute the Son of Abdallah. "A cloud of shame and sorrow," says Gibbon, "hung on their retreat, and their disappointment might justly accuse the failure of a prophet who had so often appealed to the evidence of success." The remark is natural, but the phlegmatic historian

was little capable of judging the feelings of enthusiasts. If any misgiving did arise it was silenced by the 48th chapter of his Korán; and he was, by the chief men of his army, before he left his encampment, spontaneously inaugurated. The truce enabled him to complete the subjugation of the Jews by the assault and capture of their chief residence, Kaibar. Their king was tortured in his presence to discover his hidden treasures, and Mohammed added the betrothed bride of his son to the number of his many wives. Markhhab, a giant commander of one of his forts, is said to have been hewn in two by Ali, with a single stroke of the sabre. After the capture, Mohammed went to lodge with his family, and his sister Zeinab provided for him his favourite dish, a shoulder of mutton. The guest who first tasted it fell down dead, and the prophet spat out the morsel he had taken, saying it had told him it was poisoned, a figure of speech out of which a miracle has been fabricated. Interrogated as to her motive, she replied, "I wished to ascertain if thou wert a prophet: if thou art, it will not hurt thee; if not, I should deliver my country from an impostor." The shepherds and husbandmen were permitted, during pleasure, to improve their patrimony; but under the reign of Omar they were removed into Syria, and the Khalif alleged the injunction of his dying master, that the true religion should alone be professed in his native land.

The next year Mohammed returned, according to agreement, to complete his pilgrimage, for before he had been forbidden to visit the temple, and had been obliged to shave himself and kill his victims at his encampment. On learning his intention the Koreish had retired to the hills, and the country was almost deserted, but he faithfully adhered to the treaty, by withdrawing on the fourth day. Those who remained were edified by his behaviour, and he was acknowledged as prophet by three most important converts, Othman eben Telha, the guardian of the Caaba, and Khaled and Amru, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt. The same year is also memorable for the first engagement of the Moslems with the troops of the Emperor, from whom they were so soon to wrest so many of his provinces. On returning

in triumph from the Persian war, Heraclius had entertained at Hems one of the ambassadors of Mohammed, who had been sent to invite to Islam, not only the petty Arab kings and the friendly sovereign of Ethiopia, but also himself and his rival, Khosru, the Persian monarch On this slight foundation Moslem authors affirm the secret conversion of the emperor; and the vanity of the Greek historians feigns a personal visit of Mohammed, who accepted from the royal bounty a rich domain, and a secure retreat on the supposition of his failure. But this friendship, such as it was, was not to be lasting; for an ambassador whom he had sent to the governor of Bosra had been assassinated by an Arab of the tribe of Gassan, who commanded for the Emperor, at Muta, in the district of Belkâ, about three days' journey east of Jerusalem. He resolved to be revenged, and assembled a force of 3000 chosen men. The sacred banner was entrusted to his devoted Zaid; and such was the enthusiasm of his followers, that the noblest chiefs served, without reluctance, under one who had been his menial slave; but the distinctions of this world were superseded by their religious equality. In the event of his decease, Jaafar and Abdallah were successively substituted to the command; and, if the three should perish, the troops were authorized to elect their own general. Zaid fell like a soldier in the foremost ranks. Jaafer shifted the standard from his right hand, which he lost, to his left: that too was severed from his body; and he then embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps, and was transfixed to the ground with fifty wounds. "Advance," cried Abdallah, who stepped into the vacant place, " advance with confidence: either victory or Paradise is our own." The lance of a Roman decided his fate, but the falling standard was rescued by Khaled, the recent proselyte. Nine swords were broken in his hand, and his valour repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. In the night council he was chosen commander. His evolutions of the ensuing day secured their retreat, and he is renowned among the Greeks, as well as his countrymen, by the appellation of *The Sword of God.* In the pulpit Mohammed described

with prophetic raptures the crowns of the blessed martyrs; but in private he betrayed the feelings of human nature: he was surprised as he wept over his freed-man's daughter. "What do I see?" said the astonished believer. "You see," replied the Apostle, "a friend who is deploring the loss of his most faithful friend." The period since his repulse from Mecca had been usefully employed in successful and profitable skirmishes, The attack of the Koreish upon a tribe with which he was allied he considered justified the breach of the truce, which had still two years to run, and he prepared a force sufficient to accomplish his grand object. He collected ten thousand men from various tribes but had not announced his intention, and the secret was kept, till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed, to their astonishment, their approach and irresistible force. Resistance was out of the question. Abu Sofian, himself, presented the keys of the city, admired the arms and ensigns that passed in review before him, observed that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom, and confessed, under the scimitar of Omar, that he was the Apostle of the true God. Mohammed had shewn, on several occasions, that he had the revengeful feelings of the Arab, and had more than once encouraged, and even commanded, the assassination of his personal enemies. But now, instead of indulging his own passions, or those of his followers, he spared the guilty city, and, by his clemency, united all parties in his favour. As they entered Mecca, twenty-eight of the inhabitants were slain by Khaled: and eleven men and six women were proscribed by the Prophet himself, but he blamed the cruelty of his lieutenant. The chiefs were prostrate at his feet. "What mercy can you expect from the man whom you have wronged?" "We confide in the generosity of our kinsman." "And you shall not confide in vain. Begone! you are safe, you are free." The people earned their pardon by the profession of Islam, and the fugitive is now enthroned as the prophet and prince of his native land. The idols of the Caaba were ignominiously broken, and not even the statues of Abraham and Ishmael were spared. The so-called Messenger of God, as an example to future

times, again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim, sacrificing, on his own account, sixty-three victims according to the number of his years, and thirty-seven for Ali; and he concluded with a sermon to his immense congregation, in which he introduced these verses—"Woe to them who reject your religion, and my pleasure is that your religion be Islam." It was now enacted that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city.

The conquest of Mecca determined, generally speaking, the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes, who, according to the vicissitudes of his fortune, had obeyed or disregarded the eloquence and arms of the Prophet. An obstinate remnant, however, still remained; and the battle of Honain, only three miles from Mecca, which, at its commencement, threatened his destruction, ended in his final triumph. Four thousand advanced with speed to surprise the conqueror, in whose army of 12,000 was now displayed the banner of Mecca, as well as that of the city which had adopted him. The Koran (IX.) reproaches them for their confidence in the vast superiority of their numbers; for, relying on their strength, they descended without precaution into the valley, the heights of which had been occupied by the archers and slingers of the confederates. Their superior number was here unavailing, their discipline was confounded, and their courage was appalled by the unexpected attack. The soldiers dispersed, and their prophet, on his white mule, encompassed by the enemy, attempted to rush against their spears in search of an honourable death. Ten of his faithful companions interposed their weapons and their breasts: three of them fell dead at his feet. "Oh my brethren," he repeatedly cried, with sorrow and indignation, "I am the son of Abdallah: I am the Apostle of God, who is no liar. Oh men, stand fast in the faith! Oh God, send down succour!" His uncle, Abbas, made the valley resound with a loud recital of the gifts and promises of God. The flying Moslems returned from all sides to the holy standard. The conduct and example of their leaders restored the battle, and Mohammed animated his victorious troops to

inflict a merciless revenge on the authors of their shame. From the field of Honain he marched without delay to the siege of Tayeff; but it was in vain that he offered to the slaves who formed part of the garrison freedom, violated his own law by cutting down their fruit trees, and had even made a breach in the walls; for, after a siege of twenty days, he sounded a retreat. The expedition was upon the whole fortunate, for the spoil amounted to 6000 captives, 24,000 camels, 40,000 sheep, and 4000 ounces of silver. One tribe redeemed their prisoners by the sacrifice of their idols; and Mohammed compensated the army for the loss by resigning his own share of the spoils, and declared that he wished, for their sake, that he possessed as many head of cattle as there were trees in the province of Tehama. Instead of chastising the disaffection of the Koreish, who had proved but cold allies, he endeavoured, as he expressed it by a strong figure, to cut out their tongues, and to secure their doubtful adherence by a superior measure of liberality. Abu Sofian, his former opponent, was converted to so profitable a religion by a present of three hundred camels and twenty ounces of silver. The fugitives and the helpers alike complained that they who had risked the danger were neglected in the season of victory; but his answer was, "Suffer me to conciliate these recent enemies, these doubtful proselytes, by the gift of some perishable goods. To your guard I entrust my life and fortunes. You are the companions of my exile, of my kingdom, of my Paradise." "Grant us," said envoys from Tayeff, who were afraid of a repetition of the siege, "Apostle of God, a truce of three years, with the toleration of our ancient worship." "Not a month, not an hour." "Excuse us, at least, from the obligation of prayer." "Without prayer religion is of no avail." They submitted: their temples were demolished, and the same sentence of destruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. With the exception of the Christian tribe of Najrar, which accepted the alternative of tribute, and Yemama, which at his death acknowledged the rival prophet Moseilama, the whole of Arabia now agreed in the confession of the one God, whom he had pro-

claimed, and of him as his Apostle, and he was attended on his last pilgrimage by 114,000 persons. I will close this brief narrative of events, apparently insignificant, but fraught with the most important results, not only in this world but in the next, with his only personal invasion of the empire, which would not deserve to detain us, had it not been followed, so soon after his death, by the conquest, both of Syria, and of Egypt. He professed to anticipate the hostile preparations of the emperor, and declared war, without attempting to disguise the hardships and dangers of the expedition. The Moslems were discouraged: they alleged the want of money, horses, and provisions, the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of summer. "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant prophet. He disdained to compel their service, but on his return he punished the most guilty by an excommunication of fifty days. The desertion of many enhanced the merits of Abubekr, Othman, and the other faithful companions, who exhausted their property in procuring the necessary supplies, and again he displayed his banner at the head of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot. Painful was the distress of the march: lassitude and thirst were aggravated by the scorching and pestilential wind, and ten men were obliged to ride by turns upon one camel. In the mid-way, ten days' journey from Medina and Damascus, they reposed near the grove and fountain of Tabuc, and Mohammed declined proceeding further, declaring himself satisfied with the emperor's pacific intentions.

Having laid the foundation of his empire, he was soon called upon to leave the enjoyment and extension of it to others. His last act was the sending out an expedition to avenge the death of his favourite Zaid, and he placed it under the command of his son. Two days after he had an attack of fever, which brought on delirium. During one of its fits in the night he awoke a slave, saying, that he had been commanded to pray for those who were buried in the great cemetery. On the spot he told the dead that their condition was better than that of the living, for storms were approaching; and, turning to his attendant, he added, "I have the option of remaining in this world, with its treasures opened to me, as long as it lasts, or of going

to my Lord, and that I have chosen." His fever raged so furiously, that he exclaimed, "None of the Prophets have endured such torments, but the greater my sufferings the more glorious will be my reward." At his request his wives poured buckets of water on him, and he was so refreshed that he was able the next morning to enter the mosque. He there said publicly what he had privately told his slave: "God has permitted one of his servants to choose between the pleasures of this world and of the next, and he has chosen the last." Abubekr, perceiving that he referred to himself, exclaimed, weeping, "We will give up for thee ourselves and our children." "Moderate your feelings," he replied; and then, turning to the congregation, said, "Shut up all the doors that open into the mosque, except that of Abubekr, for I have no companion more excellent, and if I required among men a friend and a brother I would select him." He then said, "Whoever has any thing on his conscience let him reveal it, that I may entreat God's favour for him." Upon this, one, who had passed hitherto for a devout Moslem, came forward and said, "I have been a hypocrite and a liar." "Why," exclaimed Omar, "dost thou make known what God has concealed?" But Mohammed replied, "Son of Khatab, it is better to blush in this world than in the next: grant him, O God, sincerity and belief, and remove from him sluggishness in fulfilling thy commands, if he longs after them in his heart." Then, in imitation of Moses and Samuel, he addressed the people, saying, "If I ever have beaten any one, let him in like manner beat me; if I have ever wounded any one's reputation, let him retaliate on mine; if I have defrauded any man of money, let him take it back from mine, and let him fear no resentment from me, for that is not in my disposition." A claim was made of three dinars, and he paid it, saying, "It is better to suffer disgrace in this world, than in the next." In conclusion, he exhorted the exiles to honour the helpers; saying, "The number of believers will increase, but that of the helpers cannot. They are my family, with whom I found a home. Do good to those who do good to them, and separate yourselves from those who treat them as enemies." He then left the

mosque so exhaused that he fainted on reaching Ayesha's house. At the time of evening prayer, being unable to attend, he desired that Abubekr should take his place. Findimg, however, that his absence had caused a great sensation, he contrived to come in, supported by Ali, Fadl, and Abbas; and, taking his place, said, "I have heard that the death of your Prophet fills you with alarm; but has ever a Prophet before me lived for ever, that you should believe that I should not be taken from you? I now go to my Lord. My last request is, that you love and honour the first exiles as well as the helpers, and I admonish you to mutual concord." He then read several passages from the Korán, (CIII.). He visited the mosque several times more, standing sometimes at the door which led into his dwelling, and listening in silence to the prayer, and often placing himself behind Abubekr, who led, instead of him, the devotions. One day, in a paroxysm, he called for writing materials, that he might set down something that would, after his death, keep the believers from error. "He is so ill," said Omar, "that we must not allow this; and, besides, have we not in the Korán every thing that can guard us from error?" As they disputed, he desired them to leave him; and when they returned he expressed a wish not to be disturbed. It may be conjectural that he wished to name his successor, and that Omar prevented it, fearing that he might nominate, not his friend Abubekr, but Ali. On the last day of his illness he came into the mosque, and looked so well, that the congregation, in their joy, could hardly attend to their prayers, and Abubekr and Ali, and some of his wives, went to look after their affairs. He had, soon after, a severe attack. Before he lost his consciousness he emancipated his slaves, and ordered six or seven dinars, which he had in the house, to be divided among the poor: then he prayed, "God be with me in the agony of death." Ayesha and Hafsa sent to their parents, but before their arrival he had expired in the arms of the first. His last words are said to have been, "To the highest companions in Paradise," and they are interpreted into a reference to his choice between

eternal happiness and a longer life on earth. Thus, in his
A.D. 632. sixty-fourth year, expired Mohammed, a believer, as I conceive, though he may have had occasional misgivings, in his own mission. Certainly, in the short period of ten years, from his flight to his death, he left that impression upon his followers, which they have communicated to distant lands and to future ages. How different might have been the result if he had read the scriptures and understood their contents; but he was raised up to be a scourge of the corrupt churches of the East, who have ever since borne the heavy yoke of these proud Unitarians, who reproach them with idolatry, and, notwithstanding the affliction of centuries, they have never emancipated themselves from the bondage of superstition to enjoy the glorious liberty of the children of God.

This mortal disease, though violent enough to deprive him at times of reason, still left him abundant opportunity for the settling of his worldly concerns. He, however, studiously abstained from even a hint respecting his successor, and he gave no directions respecting the preservation or publication of the revelation which he had professed to have received at sundry times, and in distinct portions, from heaven. He died, I apprehend, well satisfied with the part he had acted, having established, to an extent far, I conceive, beyond his most sanguine early hopes, his dogma of the divine unity, and he might consider that the Korán had effected his object, and might now be thrown away. He might purposely leave the future to God's providence, and might find it hard to choose between the husband of his daughter and the father of his favourite wife. The birth, the alliance, and the character of Ali would have fully justified his succession. He was the hereditary chief of the family of Hasham, and, as such, the authorised keeper of the city and the temple. The husband of the Prophet's only surviving child might reasonably expect the inheritance of her father, and their children had often been fondled in his lap, and shewn in the pulpit, as the hope of his age, and the chiefs of the youths of Paradise. As the first believer in his mission, Ali might aspire to precedence in both

worlds, and none of his followers united, as he did, the qualifications of saint, soldier, and poet. Mohammed had never for a moment been forsaken by this affectionate companion, whom he had accepted, when he first proclaimed his mission, as his vizir. At the siege of Khaibar, when Omar and Abubekr had twice planted his standard on the breach, and twice been forced to retire, Mohammed said that on the morrow he would place it in the hands of a friend of God and of the people, who knew not how to turn his back, meaning Ali; and his son-in-law did not suffer this boast to be falsified. It was to Ali that he entrusted his authority at home, on his first invasion of the empire; and on his repining at this involuntary detention, he was checked by the flattering speech, "Will you refuse to perform to me the part which Aaron did to Moses?" He had brought over to the faith the flourishing province of Yemen, and the hand of Fatima was his reward. Nevertheless, Ali's lofty spirit and hereditary claims were offensive to an aristocracy of elders, desirous of maintaining an elective monarchy; and Ayesha, in whose house his father-in-law passed his last illness, would not only naturally desire the elevation of her own father, but wished also to revenge herself upon Ali, who had suggested the interrogation of her female attendant, when, under suspicious appearances, she had on a march been absent for a whole night. The hatred, which she in consequence nourished against Ali would lead her to resist his claims; yet she remonstrated against her father's being sent to the mosque by Mohammed, to supply his place: but this was probably meant merely as a blind, since, on his return, he reproached her with hypocrisy. That appointment seemed equivalent to naming him his successor, and Mohammed's affection might well be divided between his nephew and his early friend, who alone had shared his danger in the cave, and whose prudence and mature years he might judge fitter to consolidate the empire, which Ali, by his boldness, was better qualified to gain. Abubekr had acquired the title of the faithful witness, from vouching for the reality of his journey to heaven, and he enjoyed also that of the Preserved,

for the prophet once pointed him out as a person who had been secured from hell. Mohammed died at a critical period, for his success had encouraged others to assume the prophetical office, and he had two competitors, in different provinces, at the head of considerable armies; while two of the Moslem tribes opposed the levying tithes, and the helpers and the fugitives were at variance, and talked of setting up independent successors to their prophet. Omar would have been a formidable rival to any candidate; and Abubekr availed himself of Ali's absence, who was engaged in preparing his father-in-law's funeral, to propose him and Abu Obeidah to the choice of an influential meeting. The disinterested Omar put an end to the discussion, by declaring himself the subject of Abubekr. The urgency of the case, and the acquiescence of the people, might justify this precipitation; yet he afterwards confessed, from the pulpit, that if the example should be followed, both the elector and the elected ought to be put to death. Ali kept aloof, notwithstanding Omar's threat to burn his house over his head; but Abu Sofian, who at first supported him, was drawn off by the nomination of his son, Moawiyah, to the command of the army; and the death of Fatima, who survived her father only a few months, lessened his importance. He condescended, therefore, to acknowledge his rival as Commander of the Faithful, accepted the excuse of the necessity of an immediate election, and rejected his courteous offer of resigning in his favour. The devoted followers of Mohammed had been with difficulty persuaded that their idolized chief could be no more. Omar insisted, that, as Moses went up to the mount for forty days, their prophet had only disappeared for a season; but his uncle, Abbas, maintained the reality of his death, and Abubekr went into his daughter's apartment and saw the corpse. He attempted in vain to silence Omar; and, failing, turned to the people, assured them of the fact, and proved from the Korán that he had no promise of exemption from the common lot of humanity. A discussion arose respecting the disposal of his body. The Fugitives argued for the place of his birth, the Helpers for that of his residence

and death, and some even talked of conveying it to Jerusalem for interment with the former prophets. Ayesha terminated the dispute by a saying of her husband, "May God destroy those who make his temple the grave of his prophets!" and Abubekr called to mind another, "That they should be buried where they died." His grave was accordingly dug under his bed, and Abubekr and Omar prayed over his remains. Both were afterwards deposited near him, and the Khalif Walid so enlarged the mosque as to include the three tombs within it.

The reign* of Abubekr lasted only two years; but it was long enough, not only to establish Islam in its own land, on a firm foundation, but to commence a war against the Romans, which gave a promise of its triumphant close by the capture of Damascus. He died at the same age as the prophet, and I may call it premature, his death being the consequence of a fever, occasioned by bathing on a cold day. During his illness he made Omar officiate in the mosque, and, to avoid the evils of an election, named him his successor in his will. Omar entreated he might be excused, saying he had no need of the place. "But the place has need of you," replied the dying Khalif," and on his leaving the room he lifted up his hand, and said, "In this, O God, I have no other design than the good of the people, and have set over them the best man." This provision was effectual, for Ali acquiesced in the choice, and was afterwards conciliated by the most flattering attentions. Omar was the first saluted as Ameer al moumenin, امير المومنين, the Chief of the Faithful, the designation of all subsequent Khalifs. He, too, died at the same age as the prophet; but his triumphant reign of more than ten years was cut short by a Persian assassin, who was dissatisfied with his unfavourable decision of a private cause. A.D. 634.

His mode of life, like his predecessors, was that, not of a prince, but of a hermit. His diet was barley bread, which, for mortification, he would sometimes eat without salt; and he strictly adhered to the prohibition of his new religion, drinking only water. He observed prayers, and fastings,

* In this historical sketch I have followed Gibbon, and often in his own words, but other authorities have been consulted.

and all religious duties, and performed the pilgrimage nine times. His friend and predecessor had set him an example of a self-denying life, in a station in which he might have gratified all his passions. On his death-bed, he desired his daughter, to whom he owes his surname, to take an inventory of all he had acquired as Khalif, preparatory to its distribution, and it amounted to no more than five gold pieces. "He has left a hard pattern," said Omar. Yet he did not fall short of his model; for he, too, when dying, even acted upon a stricter principle, for he apportioned the division of his treasure, not according to the invidious scale of presumed merit, but that of actual want, saying, "Worldly gifts are assigned us for the relief of our necessities, and not for the reward of virtue, which belongs to another life." His strict integrity, and the simplicity of his habits, gained him such respect, that it was said his walking-stick struck more terror into men's hearts than the sword of another. He survived his wound three days, and was urged to imitate Abubekr in appointing his successor. He had some fault, however, to find in all whose names were suggested; he said that Ali was not serious enough for so mighty a charge, and that Othman, the prophet's secretary and son-in-law, was too partial to his friends. It was guessed that this fastidiousness was assumed, from a secret preference of his own son; but upon his being proposed, he remarked that it was enough for one in a family to have an account to give of such an administration. It was finally settled to leave the election to six familiar companions of the prophet, and he limited their deliberations to three days.

A.D. 644. Their choice fell upon Othman, who reigned near twelve years; and his conduct confirmed Omar's character of him, and caused his premature death, for such it was, though in his eighty-third year. He was actually besieged in his own house for three weeks, and was slain by the insurgents, at the head of whom was a son of Abubekr. He was weak and injudicious; yet, like the preceding Khalifs, devout and conscientious. His charity was extensive, his fasts were frequent, and he was in the habit of continually reading the

Korán, which lay on his lap when he was attacked by his murderers.

His murder made room for Ali, twenty-five years after the death of his father-in-law, and he appears to have accepted with reluctance an office which is regarded by a large minority of the Mohammedan world as his undoubted right. The town was full of strangers from the cities of Cufa and Bassora, which owe their foundation to the Khalifs, as well as from Egypt, and was agitated by their contests. Telha and Zobeir, who, with Ayesha, were his implacable enemies, found it expedient to conceal their feelings, and take an oath of allegiance on the very day of Othman's assassination; and he only yielded to the general voice by their adjuring him to consider the distraction of the people and the state of Islam. Having consented, he determined that it should appear that his accession was the act of the nation; and his simple inauguration strongly contrasts with the worldly magnificence of the future court of Bagdad, though even Ali assumed the sovereignty of a considerable empire. At an early hour he repaired to the mosque, in a thin cotton gown, with a coarse turban, in one hand his slippers, and in the other, instead of a staff, a bow. His reign, so long expected, and, according to his followers, so unjustly deferred, was inglorious; for it brought on a civil war, in which the Moslems, hitherto the conquerors of other nations, turned their arms against each other. He disregarded the counsel of a relation, who then told him that he was a man of courage, but not of conduct. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable; and if a more vigorous system might have suppressed discontent at home, it was hopeless for him to encounter at once, abroad, Moawiyah who had become the sovereign of Syria, and Amru, the conqueror of Egypt. Though sixty years of age, he shewed his unfitness by retaining the rashness of youth; set aside all the governors of provinces appointed by his predecessor; and while he offended Telha and Zobeir by refusing to place them over Cufa and Bassora, he neglected to secure their persons. They escaped to Bassora, avowing their intention of avenging

A.D. 655.

the death of Othman, which Ali had declined as impolitic, and were accompanied and encouraged by his constant enemy Ayesha, whose influence appears from her title of Mother of the Faithful. At the head of 20,000 of his faithful Arabs, and 9000 auxiliaries from Cufa, the Khalif defeated their superior numbers under the walls of Bassora. In this first battle, which stained the arms of the Moslem with their brothers' blood, both leaders were slain, and the widow of the prophet was honourably dismissed to his tomb; but, she still nourished her hatred of the family of Fatima, and, on the death of her son Hassan, forbade his burial near his grandfather, as the ground was her property. After this victory, called, from the animal that carried Ayesha's litter, "The Day of the Camel," Ali marched against Moawiyah, a more formidable enemy, who had assumed the dignity of Khalif, and was supported by the forces of Syria and the partisans of the house of Ommiyah, of which he was the head. On the plain of Siffin, extending along the western bank of the Euphrates, these competitors waged for a season a desultory war, in which the lawful sovereign exhibited his superiority in humanity, as well as in valour. His troops were strictly enjoined to wait the onset, to spare their flying brethren, and to respect the bodies of the slain and the chastity of the female captives. He generously, to spare bloodshed, proposed a single combat; but this being declined, the impetuosity of his charge broke the ranks of the Syrians. Wielding his ponderous irresistible two-edged sword, he shouted, whenever he smote a rebel, "God is great;" and Moawiyah was even meditating flight when victory was snatched from Ali by the device of Amru. On his suggestion, Moawiyah exposed copies of the Korán on the foremost lances, calling out that the Book ought to decide their differences. The stratagem was successful, for Ali's soldiers laid down their arms, and were deaf to the remonstrances of their commander, who, in consequence, returned in grief and indignation to Cufa. A proposed arbitration failed; and Ali was about to transfer the war to Syria, when his career was suddenly and disastrously closed. Three enthusi-

asts, discussing in the temple of Mecca the disorders of the state, soon came to the conclusion that peace and order could only be restored by the death of the two rivals, and of Amru; and the measure they deemed expedient they were prompt to execute. Each selected his victim, and, poisoning his dagger, set out to execute his design. The first, not knowing the person of Amru, killed, by mistake, his secretary, who that day supplied his place. The sovereign of Damascus was only dangerously wounded by the second; but the lawful Khalif died from the blow of the third. Meshed Ali, that is, the place of Ali's martyrdom, is a town which has grown up round his sepulchre, five miles from the deserted Cufa, and is about the size and population of the modern Jerusalem. Many thousands of his sectaries repose at his feet, and the town is enriched by the annual visits of the Persians, who regard a visit to his tomb as equal in merit to the pilgrimage, and even caravans of corpses are brought to be interred in this holy ground.

These admirers of Ali, who also reject the Traditions, take the title of Adaliyah عدالية (Followers of Justice); but are better known by the name of Shiyah شيعة (Separatists), as they are called by the Turks, who are Sonnites سنية. They curse the three first Khalifs as intruders into the place of Ali; but the Sonnites, while they honour these four as guides, regard Ali as subordinate to the others; and even now, after so many ages, treat with the highest respect his reputed descendants, who are distinguished by green turbans, and enjoy certain privileges even in the dominions of the Sultan. A *dogma* will split other religions into hostile sects, which persecute when possessed of power; but it is extraordinary that this *fact* should have divided, and still divide, the Mohammedans into two parties, which hate each other more than they do Jews or Christians: centuries have passed away since the extinction of the Khalifat, and not even the Turkish Sultan can put forward any reasonable claim to be the successor of his prophet.

The death of Mohammed's son-in-law effected an extraordinary revolution, for the natural course of events now

A.D. 680. made the son of Abu Sofian the opponent of the prophet and champion of idolatry, the hereditary head of his sovereignty and his religion. Omar had placed him in the favourable position of governor of Syria, in the administration of which his humanity and kindness made him popular, and a grateful people, over whom he reigned no less than forty years, either in a subordinate rank or as prince, were attached to a benefactor who had enriched them out of the property of the Roman province. The duty of avenging the murder of Othman was the engine of his ambition; and he exposed in the mosque of Damascus the bloody shirt of his kinsman. Sixty thousand Syrians bound themselves to him by a vow of fidelity and revenge, and Amru saluted him as Khalif; and thus, by making Damascus the Mohammedan metropolis, he reduced the country of the prophet to its original insignificance.

Hassan, the eldest son of Ali, was of a mild and retiring disposition, and his abdication was easily brought about by the grant of a magnificent revenue. The aspiring ambition of Moawiyah was crowned with success, by the change of an elective into an hereditary monarchy. Some murmurs of freedom and fanaticism attested the reluctance of the Arabs, but his design was skilfully conducted, and, on the melancholy and still lamented fall of Hosein, the younger son of Ali, Yezid, Moawiyah's feeble and dissolute son, was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful, and successor of the Apostle of God.

Hosein had more spirit than Hassan: he had even served at the siege of Constantinople, and was encouraged to support his claims by a list, sent him from Cufa, of 140,000 Moslems, ready to fight in his cause, as soon as he shewed himself on the banks of the Euphrates. Contrary to the advice of prudent friends, he resolved to trust his person to these unknown adherents, and was even attended, as in peace time, by a retinue of women and children. As he advanced he was alarmed by the deserted appearance of the country, and his alarm was just. Obeidallah, the governor of Cufa, had contrived to extinguish the first sparks of insurrection, and when he reached

the plain of Kerbela he was encompassed by 5000 horsemen, who intercepted his communication both with the city and with the river. He might have escaped to a fort in the desert, and the faithful and dutiful tribe of Tai would have armed in his defence. In a conference he offered in vain the option of three honourable courses, and was sternly informed that there was no choice but unconditional surrender, or abiding the consequences of his rebellion. "Think you," he replied, "to terrify me with death?" During the respite of the night he prepared himself with calm resignation to submit to the decree of God, and endeavoured to check the lamentations of his sister Fatima for the impending ruin of their house. "Our trust," he told her, "is in God alone: all things in heaven and in earth must fail, and return to their Creator. My father, and mother, and brother, were better than I, and every Moslem has an example of excellence in the prophet." He pressed his friends to secure their safety by a timely flight, but they unanimously refused to desert their beloved master, and their resolution was fortified by fervent prayer and the assurance of Paradise. At day-break he mounted his horse, the sword in one hand, in the other the Korán. His devoted band of martyrs consisted of no more than thirty-two horse and fifty foot, but their flanks and rear were secured by the tent ropes and a deep trench, which they filled with lighted faggots. The enemy advanced with reluctance, and a chief, with thirty followers, even deserted to partake of martyrdom. The despair of this little band was invincible in close fight, but their opponents galled them from a distance with a cloud of arrows, and both horses and men successively perished. A truce was granted for the hour of prayer, and the battle finally ceased with the life of the last of the companions of Hosein. Alone and wounded, he was seated at the opening of his tent, and was pierced in the mouth with a dart as he was refreshing himself with a cup of water. His son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms: he then raised towards heaven his bloody hands and uttered a funeral prayer. His sister, in a transport of despair, issued from the tent, and

adjured the general not to suffer her brother to be murdered before her eyes. A tear trickled down his beard, and the boldest of the soldiers fell back as Hosein threw himself into
A.D. 680. the midst of them. The remorseless Shamer reproached them with cowardice, and the grandson of the prophet was slain with thirty-three strokes of swords and lances: they trampled on his body, and cut off his head and carried it to Cufa, where the savage Obeidallah struck the mouth with a cane. "Alas," exclaimed an aged Moslem, "I have seen upon these lips the lips of the apostle of God." Meshed Hosein, his sepulchre, not far from his father's, is another place of pilgrimage for the Shiyahs; and in Persia and India they still keep the commemoration of this affecting tragedy with the strongest demonstration of sorrow for the martyr-saint, and of indignation against the memory of his murderers. His sister, and the other descendants of Ali, were taken in chains to Damascus, and the Khalif was advised to extirpate this popular and dangerous family, injured beyond the hope of forgiveness. But Yezid was not a tyrant: he therefore dismissed them honourably to their kindred at Medina, with a competent provision. Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, set up a Khalifat in Arabia, but it was an unsuccessful attempt, for, after a nine years, reign, he was besieged and killed, and the house of Ommiyah governed for near a century, from Damascus, the Mohammedan world.

Whatever the prophet may have been, his early successors appear in history disinterested, frugal, self-denying enthusiasts, while they carried on, by their generals, a series of what they considered holy wars against idolaters. They had shewn themselves brave in their petty fights, but never sought the crown of martyrdom at the head of their armies, for they deemed the offices of religion and the administration of justice to be their special duties. With the exception of Omar's almost compulsory appearance at Jerusalem, when the Patriarch would capitulate to none but him, their expeditions were only short pilgrimages to Mecca; and they calmly received tidings of the conquests of cities, of few of which they could have ever heard, as they prayed or preached near the sepulchre

of their prophet. Their austere and frugal life was the result of early habit, and the influx of wealth never tempted them to give up their simplicity of manners for the costly apparel and magnificence of the sovereigns over whom they had triumphed. Omar, we are told, preached in a torn and tattered gown; and he is described, when he journeyed to Jerusalem, as mounted on a red camel, which carried a bag both of corn and of dates, with a wooden dish and a leather bottle of water, and wherever he halted ready to share with any his homely meal. Rigid towards himself, he was indulgent to others; for when Abu Obeidah, after the refreshment of three days, withdrew his troops from the contagious luxury of Antioch, he thus mildly censured the general's severity—"God has not forbidden the good things of this world to faithful men, and to such as have performed good works." But though he despised luxury, and even reasonable comforts, his increasing revenues enabled him to establish a permanent recompense for the services of his officers. By a rare felicity, these Khalifs united the despatch of despotism with the frugality and equality of a republic. Their worldly successors in the palace of Damascus. the descendants of Ommiyah, were destitute alike of the qualities of saints and of statesmen, nor were they, like the dynasty that supplanted them, patrons of learning. Yezid drank wine in public, and scandalized the strict professors of their faith by keeping dogs, which are unclean to them, as well as to the Jews. Except in Syria, their home, they were unpopular; while the fate of Hosein blackened the memory of Yezid, and the idolatry and reluctant conversion of his grandfather, Abu Sofian the founder of the family, were never forgotten. Their elevation, the result of arms, had no reasonable grounds of justification; nor was the conduct of their Khalifs such as to reconcile the public to this departure from election to hereditary succession. The best of the race, the pious Omar, was dissatisfied with his own title, and the wishes of believers turned towards the kindred of the Prophet. Hosein, the representative of Abu Thaleb, his elder uncle, was no more, and his family were dispirited and hopeless; but the posterity

of Abbas, a younger uncle and zealous partisan, cherished with discretion their rising fortune. From an obscure abode in Syria they secretly despatched agents, who advocated, in the distant provinces of Persia, their indefeasible right; and Mohammed, the great-grandson of Abbas, gave audiences to deputies from Khorasan, and accepted their free gift of 400,000 pieces of gold. On his death the oath of allegiance was transferred to Ibrahim, his son, by a numerous band, who only expected a signal and a leader; and the faithful and energetic governor of the province, aware of the conspiracy, in vain endeavoured, in prose and verse, to awaken his master from his slumbers, till he and all his adherents were driven from Meru by the rebellious arms of the stern and bloody Abu Moslem. In the quarrel of these factions, which convulsed Asia, the latter were generally successful: but their success was clouded by the personal misfortune of their chief. The court of Damascus was determined to prevent Ibrahim's pilgrimage, undertaken to recommend his cause, and this unhappy claimant of the sovereignty, which he was not destined to enjoy, having been intercepted, soon expired in a dungeon, Green, the favourite colour of the prophet, still continues to distinguish the descendants of Ali; the Ommiades appropriated to themselves white; and the fate of Ibrahim induced the house of Abbas to assume black as mourning. Meanwhile Ibrahim's brothers lay concealed at Cufa, till the approach of his eastern supporters enabled them to shew themselves to the impatient public. On a Friday, in a Khalif's dress of this adopted black, the eldest, Alsaffah, proceeded in procession to the mosque, where he preached and prayed as sovereign, and on his departure his kinsmen bound a willing people by an oath of fidelity. On the banks of the Zab this contest for empire was decided. Every advantage seemed to be on the side of the Whites, the authority and influence of the government, in possession of an army of 120,000 men against a fourth of the number, and the presence and merit of Mervan, the fourteenth, and, as it proved, the last of the Ommiades. Before his accession he had distinguished himself as governor of

Georgia; and Abulfeda says, "He might have been ranked among the greatest sovereigns, had not that moment been decreed for the ruin of his house; and no prudence or fortitude could contend with destiny." His orders were mistaken or disobeyed. Having dismounted for a moment, the return of his horse, which had escaped from him, without a rider, spread a rumour of his death, and the enthusiasm of the black squadrons was ably conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. After an irretrieveable defeat, the Khalif fled to Mosul; but, seeing the black flag on its ramparts, he re-crossed the Euphrates as well as the Tigris. He abandoned Damascus, and, without halting in Palestine, pitched his last camp on the banks of the Nile. His speed was urged by the incessant pursuit of Abdallah, and, in a final battle, a lance terminated his life. A.D. 750.

The merciless conqueror eradicated even the most distant branches of his hated family, and the martyrdom of Hosein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his enemies. At Damascus, fourteen who had submitted were invited to a banquet, and massacred; and we are told that the cloth was spread over their mangled bodies, and that the enjoyment of the guests was heightened by the dying groans of their victims. Such was the barbarizing influence of their combined political and religious antipathy. The cruel Abdallah, not satisfied with this horrible feast, warred against the dead, and disinterred the bodies of the deceased Khalifs, which were exposed to every indignity. The only exception was made in favour of the second Omar, who had suppressed the solemn execration of Ali and his family, which Moawiyah had introduced The discontented said he ought to have transferred the curses to his own house; but he appealed to the example of the Almighty, who had never commanded his prophets to curse any, not even Pharaoh, though he required to be honoured as a god. In the proscription of the Ommiades, Abdalrahman alone escaped, and he had been hunted as far as the valleys of Mount Atlas. The approach of this fugitive to Spain revived the hope of the whole faction. The cause of the Abbasides had been taken

up in Persia; but the West had escaped civil war, and the servants of the deposed family still held by a precarious tenure their lands and the offices of government. Prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, the Moslems of Spain offered their throne to the grandson of the Khalif Hashem, and, in his desperate circumstances, what would otherwise have been rashness was wisdom. The acclamations of the people saluted his landing in Andalusia, and, after a struggle, Abdalrahman established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of a Spanish line which reigned two centuries and a half from the Atlantic to the Pyrennees. Thus family dissensions were overruled to dissolve the unity, and consequently to weaken the power and influence of Islam.

A.D. 755.

The claim of the Abbasides to the office of Imam as their inheritance was injudicious, since the house of Ali had unquestionably a better title, and their partisans, particularly in Persia, occasioned frequent commotion; the more so, as some of the Khalifs themselves were dissatisfied with their own position. The glory of martyrdom has been allowed to supersede the right of Hassan, Ali's eldest son; and the twelve Imams, whom the Shiyahs acknowledge as their only legitimate governors, are the lineal descendants of Hosein: the elder branch, however, even now retains the subordinate sovereignty of Mecca, with the custody of the temple. Without arms, revenues, or avowed subjects, these Imams enjoyed the popular veneration, and the tombs of most of them are places of pilgrimage. Instead of asserting their rights, they devoted themselves to pious seclusion, but their names, without any ambition of theirs, often kindled civil wars. The fourth of them Ali, Hosein's son, bears the title of Zin-alabadein زين العبدين, the ornament of mankind. His son Mohammed, surnamed باكر Bakr, the pure, and his grandson Jaffa صادق (Sadak), the Sincere, lived and died unmolested at Medina. Mousa, surnamed the Kind الخاديم (Alkhadim), and the Patient الصابر (Alsaber) the next Imam (Harun Alrashid) removed to Bagdad, from apprehension, and, in the end, it is thought, poisoned. His son Ali Riddha الي رضي, the Acceptable, obtained far greater cele-

brity, for he was not only patronized by Fadlallah, the vizir of Almamon, the son of Harun, but the justice of his claim was conceded by the Khalif himself who even formally announced him as his successor, and, upon the occasion, changed his colours from black to green. But the design was most calamitous to all concerned. It produced a revolt of the indignant Abbasides, to the number, it is said, of 23,000 persons, the assassination of the vizir, and probably the premature death soon after of the proclaimed heir. Thus the place of his death and interment has, in consequence, obtained the title of Meshed, and is regarded by the Shiyahs as so holy, that a single visit to his tomb is said by one of them to be more meritorious than eighty pilgrimages to Mecca. Abu Jaffer Mohammad Aljowad الجواد the Beneficent, is the next Imam; and the tenth is his son الزكي Ali Alzaki the Pure, surnamed العسكري Alaskeri, because the jealousy of the Khalif Motaz removed him from Medina to Samarah, also called Asker, the camp, to which he had himself withdrawn from the turbulence of Bagdad. This Imam closed there a life of prayer and study in the forty-second year of his age, and, like many of his predecessors, is supposed to have been poisoned. Hassan, his son, resided with him, and was surnamed by his followers الخلاص Alkhalas the Saviour, in the hope that he would deliver the faithful from the Khalif. Their hope probably shortened his life, for he died in his twenty-ninth year, leaving an only son, entitled Mahadi, the Guide, who was born at Samarah, and at nine years of age hid by his mother in a cave. The time and place and manner of his decease are unknown, and the Shiyah fondly look to his appearance at the end of the age, when he will unite with Jesus in attacking Antichrist, and they will amalgamate Christianity and Islam into one religion.

The throne of the Abbasides was cemented with blood, and their first Khalif is branded in history with the odious title of السفاح Alsaffah the Blood-shedder. The guilt, however, is said to have been that of his uncle, who reigned in his name. He is described as anxious to fulfil his important duties; and it is recorded of him, that, on contemplating his youthful beauty in a mirror, he exclaimed, "I will not repeat the well-known speech

of the young Khalif of Damascas, Soliman, 'I am the king, the prince of youth,' but I will only pray, my God, for life, in order to serve thee, and grant me no other favour than health." The gift, however, was denied, for he soon died of the small-pox, and made room for his brother, against whom their uncle revolted. He was pardoned, and died from the falling in of the floor of his room, caused, it was suspected, by his nephew, Abu Jaffer, who assumed the surname of Almanzor the Victorious, and, in a reign of near twenty years, consolidated the empire. Damascus, the capital of the Ommiades, was odious, and it was neither politic nor agreeable to retire into the desert from which the family had emerged. The central situation of Mesopotamia seemed preferable; and, after a trial of other places, he selected Bagdad, the garden of a Christian hermit, for the seat of sovereignity, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and denominated it the city of peace.

A.D. 762. These Khalifs, unlike the first four, who are called the Guides, aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Roman emperors and the Persian kings. Mahadi, the son of Almanzor, expended in one pilgrimage six millions of gold dinars. This includes the reasonable foundation of cisterns and caravansaries along a distance of seven hundred miles; but a large deduction must be made for the train of camels laden with snow to cool the liquors used at his banquets, so inconsistent with the design and spirit of a pilgrimage. At the nuptials of his grandson, Almamun, the gorgeous East showered with richest hand on the bride's head a thousand of the largest pearls; and, in the decline of the empire, the lustre of the court was rather heightened than impaired, as is exemplified by Abulfeda's description of the palace in which the feeble Moctader received a Greek ambassador. Their rivals, the Ommiades of Spain, supported with equal pomp the title of Commander of the

A.D. 917. Faithful; and historians justify the remark, by a description of the palace of Zehra, on which Abdalrahman expended, in twenty-five years, above three millions sterling. Such luxury relaxed the nerves and arrested the progress of

A.D. 911. Arabian supremacy. Temporal and spiritual conquest had

been the exclusive occupation of the first Khalifs, who, after supplying themselves with necessaries, scrupulously directed to that object their overflowing revenue. The Abbassides were impoverished by the multitude of their wants and their neglect of economy. Their leisure and their desires were diverted from ambition by pomp and pleasure; the rewards of valour were embezzled by women and servants; and the camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. The same temper diffused itself among their subjects. Their stern enthusiasm was softened by time and prosperity. They sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuit of learning, and enjoyment in the tranquillity of domestic life. War was no longer their passion, and the increase of pay and the repetition of donations were insufficient to allure the posterity of the voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abubekr and Omar from the hope of spoil or the rewards of paradise, until, like the early Roman emperors, they became the slaves of their own guards. Till they fell under this domestic tyranny they were the most absolute sovereigns that had hitherto appeared, for their prerogative was uncircumscribed by any hereditary nobility, the constitutional freedom of the people, or the privileges of an hierarchy. The royal and sacerdotal characters were united in their persons; and though the Korán was the rule of their actions, they were its authorized interpreters. They reigned, too, by the right of conquest, over many nations to whom liberty was unknown, even by name, and who were accustomed to acts of severity, which, when exercised as their governors, were even gratifying. In the two years of Omar's reign the Arabs are said to have subdued 36,000 cities, and to have built 14,000 mosques. One century after the Prophet's flight from Mecca, the empire of his successors comprehended Persia and provinces in Tartary beyond the Oxus, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and even Spain. Islamiyah (a term which may be contrasted with Christendom), as comprehending all Moslems, under the last of the Ommiades, was two hundred days' journey in length. It has been compared to a robe; and if we cut off the sleeve, that is the long

and narrow Africa; the solid and compact dominion, from Fargana to Aden, and from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to more than four months of a caravan's march, over which ample space religion diffused a general uniformity. The Korán, in its two grand divisions as a direction for this world and the next, that is, as jurisprudence and theology, was alike studied at Samarcand and at Seville, and the Moor and the Hindu met as brother pilgrims at the Caaba.

Within fifty years of the Flight the Moslems who had possessed themselves of Egypt and Syria, appeared under the walls of Constantinople; for the ships, which they then for the first time employed, enabled them to pass through the unguarded strait of the Hellespont. The spirit of the Romans was rekindled by their danger; and the invaders met with so firm a resistance, that, after a siege almost as long as that of Troy, they were obliged to relinquish their enterprise; and two subsequent sieges, a century, and a century and a-half later, had no better success. But their arms endangered Europe from the side of Spain. The weakness of France, the government of which had fallen from the incompetent successors of Clovis, and was shared by the Mayors of the palace in the north, and by tributary vassals in the south, tempted the invaders. After a defeat under the walls of Toulouse, the Moslems re-passed
A.D. 731. the Pyrenees in greater force, and occupied the south from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone. Abdalrahman, a victorious commander, who had been restored to the wishes of the people and soldiers of Spain, adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or Europe, and prepared to execute the sentence at the head of an overpowering host. He passed, without opposition, the Garonne and the Dordogne, but found beyond them the camp of the intrepid Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, who here sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to their own confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. "A victorious line of march," says Gibbon, "had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire: the repetition of an equal space would have carried the

Saracens to the confines of Poland. The Rhine is not more impassable than the Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed, without a naval combat, into the mouth of the Thames." He speculates on the probable effect of such an expedition on the theology of Oxford; but from such contingent calamities Christendom was delivered, humanly speaking, by the courage of one man, Charles Martel, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin. No sooner had he collected his forces than he sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Poitiers and Tours. In six days of desultory combat the horsemen and archers of the east maintained their advantage, but in the closer onset of the seventh day they were crushed, as it were, by the Christians under Charles, whose title of Hammer, attached to his name, well expresses his weighty and irresistible strokes. The victory was complete; Aquitaine was recovered by Eudes; and the Arabs, who were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles, never more attempted the conquest of France. Within a quarter of a century Spain was severed from the Khalifat, and the opposite coast of Barbary became an independent sovereignty under Edrisi, a descendant of Ali. The submission of Egypt, as early as the reign of Omar, facilitated the conquest of Africa, which, after some previous unsuccessful attempts, had been accomplished by Akbah, the general of Moawiyah, who advanced as far as the Atlantic. "If," exclaimed this enthusiast, "my career had not been checked by the ocean, I would still go on proclaiming, great God, the unity of Thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods. Within a century from the Hejirah, the traitor Count Julian invited Mousa, the general of the Khalifs, to the invasion of Spain, and the insulated rock of Gibraltar preserves, in its corrupted form, the name of Tarik his lieutenant, who, in the battle of Xeres, extinguished the Gothic monarchy. Mousa, jealous of his deputy, afterwards appeared in person, and completed the conquest. The African Moslems were invited by a youth, who had been severely sentenced for carrying off a nun, to the conquest of Sicily, which thus became a province of their

A.D. 732.

empire, and so continued till wrested from them near two centuries later by the Norman adventurer Roger. From Palermo, which they made their capital, these invaders sent. forth ships to ravage the coast of Italy, and even sailed up the Tiber, and stripped of their costly offerings the altars of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the suburbs of the once imperial Rome. A more formidable fleet, direct from Africa, cast anchor, three years later, near the mouth of that river, and appeared to threaten, not only pillage, but a permanent occupation. A new pope, however, the energetic Leo IV., had not only, in the interval, repaired the walls, but anticipated their invasion by an alliance with the free states of Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi. A naval fight ensued, and was decided, by a sudden tempest, in favor of the Christians, whose gallies were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while those of the Moslem were dashed in pieces on an hostile shore: and the ancient capital has never since been exposed to the danger of becoming like the new Rome of Constantine, a city of a Mohammedan sovereign.

It is the observation of Gibbon, that when the Arabs first issued from the desert they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own success. But that when they had advanced, in the career of victory, to the Indus and the Pyrenees, and had repeatedly tried the edge of their scymetars and the energy of their faith, they might be equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, or any boundary confine their dominion. The historian endeavours to discover the cause, which he finds in the nature of the despotic and unwieldly empire of the Khalifs, which, unless sustained by a sovereign of warlike disposition and peculiar energy, degenerated into a real anarchy, where, under the veil of magnificence, the princes, in their own palace, became the slaves of their own guards; and the governors of the distant provinces, with more or less respectful homage, acted as independent sovereigns. When these Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over the east, and were mixed with the servile

crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the free-born and martial virtues of the desert; the active power of enterprise had decayed in the luxury and philosophy imported from Greece into the court of Bagdad, and the mercenary forces of the Khalifs were recruited from the hardy natives of the north.

The Turkish youth from Transoxiana, (in Arabian geography Mawaralnaher, the country beyond the river,) either taken in war or purchased, were educated in arms and in the profession of the Mohammedan faith, and became the body-guard of their benefactor, Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, with whom the glory of the Khalifat expired. The author of this dangerous example introduced into the capital above 50,000 of them. Their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and their quarrels with the people induced the Khalif to retire from Bagdad, and to establish their camp and his own residence twelve leagues above, on the Tigris at Samara, which he called Sermenra, as delighting the spectator. His son, Motawakel, a jealous and cruel tyrant: odious to his subjects, cast himself on the fidelity of these strangers; but they were tempted by the promises of his son, Montanser, whom they placed upon the throne, after they had burst into his father's apartment, where he was, like too many Moslem princes, drinking to excess, in defiance of the Korán, and cut his body into seven pieces. I specify the number, because it is said that Ali reproached him in a dream, and gave him so many blows with his sword. He had declared himself the enemy of his house, and forbidden pilgrimage to his tomb. That of his son Hosein he afterwards destroyed, and, not contented with ploughing up the ground to efface all traces of it, he attempted to form a canal on the spot; but the tomb was restored by his successor. In a reign of six months his son found only the pangs of a guilty conscience, and exclaimed, in the bitterness of death, that he had lost both this world and the world to come. After this act of treason the ensigns of sovereignty were given and taken away by the foreign mercenaries, who, in four years, created, deposed, and

murdered three Commanders of the Faithful. As often as these Turks were influenced by fear, rage, or avarice, their sovereigns were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase, by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve. At length, however, the fury of the tempest was spent or diverted; the Abbassides returned to Bagdad; the insolence of the Turks was curbed with a firmer hand, and their numbers were reduced by foreign warfare.

Another fruitful and permanent cause of the decline of the Khalifat was the discontent of the followers of Ali, who had endangered the established authority of the house of Abbas. Almanzur had, as I have observed, attempted to set up Ali Riddha as his successor. Motawakil's hatred of Ali was the cause of his fall, his son being disgusted at his suffering a buffoon, by an exaggerated representation of the corpulence and baldness of that venerated Khalif, to make him ridiculous. The various sects that grew up were more or less connected with this family; as, the Ismaelites, to a division of whom, the Assassius, who settled in Syria, we owe the introduction into Europe of the term "assassination," from their habit of secretly dispatching those their chief, called by the Crusaders the Old Man of the Mountain, chose to doom to destruction; and the Druses, who worship Hakim, the mad Khalif of Egypt. The earliest and most celebrated of these are the Karmathians, called after an Arabian enthusiast, who professed to have been favoured with a new revelation, and assumed, among many extraordinary titles, both that of the Word and of the Paraclete. He spiritualized the precepts of the Korán, allowing the use of wine and forbidden food, and appointed twelve apostles, in imitation of our Saviour, whose mission he acknowledged. After his liberation from a prison by the sympathy of his jailer's wife, he disappeared from history; but his sect continued to spread till it became alarming to the Khalifs. Far and wide the tribes of the desert acknowledged the sceptre of his successors, and he could muster in the field above 10,000 enthusiasts. The mercenaries of the Khalif were dismayed at

the approach of an enemy who neither asked nor accepted quarter, and defeated them in every action. Cufa and Bassora were taken and pillaged, and the Khalif trembled in his palace. In a daring inroad, Abu Taher, their chief, advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than five hundred horse. By order of Moctadher the bridges had been broken down, and the head of the rebel was hourly expected by the Commander of the Faithful. His lieutenant, from fear or pity, apprised Abu Taher of his danger, and recommended a retreat. "Your master," said the intrepid Karmathian to the messenger, "commands 30,000 soldiers: but three such men as these are wanting in his host." At the same instant turning to his companions, he ordered the first to plunge a dagger into his breast, the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself headlong down a precipice; and they obeyed without a murmer. "Report," said the Imam, "what you have seen. Before the evening your general shall be chained among my dogs." And so, before the evening came, the camp was surprised, and the menace was executed. Like the Wahabis of our time they forbade the worship of Mecca. One year they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, 20,000 of whom were abandoned to a death of hunger and thirst. Another they suffered the pilgrims to proceed; but Abu Taher stormed the holy city, and trampled on the most venerable relics of the Mohammedan faith: 30,000 citizens and strangers were put to the sword; the sacred precincts were polluted by the burial of 3000 dead bodies; the well Zemzem overflowed with blood; the golden spout was forced from its place; the veil of the Caaba was divided among them, and the black stone was borne away in triumph to their capital. After some years it was restored; and on the death of Abu Taher his sect gradually died away.

Gibbon thus shews the tendency of so vast an empire to its fall: "The viceroy of a remote kingdom aspires to secure the property and inheritance of his precarious trust; nations must rejoice in the presence of their sovereign; and the command of armies and treasures are

at once the object and the instruments of his ambition. A change was scarcely visible as long as the lieutenants of the Khalif were content with their vicarious title; while they solicited for their sons or themselves a renewal of the imperial grant, and still maintained on the coin, and in the public prayer, the name and prerogative of the Commander of the Faithful. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power they assumed the attributes of royalty. Peace or war depended solely on their will, and the revenues of their government were reserved for local services or private magnificence; and instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the prophet were complimented with such ostentatious gifts as an elephant or a cast of hawks." It is not to my purpose to enumerate the successive dynasties that superseded the authority of the successors of Mohammed: I will merely observe, that in Africa and in Persia many of them, from policy or from conviction, favoured the claims of the posterity of Ali. Thus
A.D. 829. Edrisi, who erected the kingdom of Fez, was, as I have observed, a reputed descendant of the family; and Obeidallah, who extinguished his dynasty, assumed the title of Fatimite, as descending from Ali through the daughter of Mohammed, and became the founder of a succession of Khalifs, rivals to those of Bagdad. He established his government at Kairoan, which had been founded by Akbah, the conqueror of Africa, to secure the country; and the general of his great-grandson Alaaldin, who wrested Egypt from the Khalifat, established a new capital, to which, because founded under the horoscope of the planet Mars, surnamed القاهر Victorious, he gave the auspicious name of القاهرة "victory," which Europeans have corrupted into Cairo. His name was substituted for that of the Abbasside sovereign in the public prayer, and a phrase was added in honour of Ali. These Khalifs, like those of Bagdad, became in time the slaves of their vizirs or guards; and the last of the long line was
A.D. 1271 deposed by the Atabek sovereign of Syria, Nuraldin, who restored to the prayer the names of the first three successors of Mohammed, and acknowledged Mosthader of Bagdad as the true Commander of the Faithful. During all subsequent

revolutions Egypt has never departed from what is regarded as the orthodox faith.

The dynasty of the sons of Buyah, who emerged from the shores of the Caspian, and kept the Khalifs of Bagdad in subjection for more than a century, deserves a passing notice, since they powerfully contributed to keep up the cause of Ali. These three brothers became the sovereigns of Bagdad and Persia, and received from the Khalifs the honourable titles, recently invented, of 1. عمدالدولة Amadaldulet, 2. رقن‌الدولة Rocknaldulet, and 3. معزالدولة Moazaldulet, "pillar, foundation, and support of the state." The latter had possessed himself of Bagdad and the person of the Khalif, who, while rejoicing at his deliverance from his turbulent guards, was unexpeetedly dragged from his throne to a dungeon by his command, and was succeeded in his high but nominal office by his brother. The Buyah prince, who under the title of امیر الامرا Emir al Omra, or chief of the chiefs, really reigned, must have regarded the Abbasside Khalifs as usurpers, for he meditated transferring their office to a descendant of Ali, and ordered the execration of Moawiyah, which was formally announced every Friday in the mosques, to be engraved on their doors. He also erected over the spot where Hosein fell a tomb, called "the magnificent dome," and established the com memmoration of his martyrdom on the tenth of Moharram, which is still kept with all the demonstrations of mourning, in Persia and India. A Sonnite author* remarks upon this institution, that though Hosein was devout, courageous, and munificent, and grandson of the apostle of God, his father was a better man; yet the day of his death was not kept, though murdered on his way to prayer; nor were those of Othman, Omar, or Abubekr, who were all superior to him in excellence; nor even that of the apostle of God, who is absolute lord of all the sons of men. The birthday, however, of Mohammed is now a festival in the Turkish dominions.

While the Normans restored Sicily to Christendom, the Turks, the most formidable enemies of the cross, were rising

* Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 193.

into importance. Mahmud of Gasna, himself a Turk, had imprudently transplanted a colony of them into Khorasan, and they defeated his son and successor, and took possession of his Persian dominions. Togrul, their king, annihilated the dynasty of the Buyides, and rescued the Khalif Kaim from the tyranny of his enemies. Attached to the Sonnite view of Islam, the Turks repressed the followers of Ali, and ultimately established what is considered the orthodox faith in the capital of the Eastern empire. Since the decline of the Khalifat, the Roman Emperors had recovered their territory as far as Antioch and Armenia; but Alp Arslan, the nephew and successor of Togrul, conquered both that country and Georgia, and dictated, as the terms of peace, to the Emperor Romanus Diogenes, who had been taken prisoner, a ransom and an annual tribute. The Khalif conferred upon his son and successor, Malek Shah, his own peculiar title, Commander of the Faithful; and his sovereignty was more extensive than that of the most powerful of those lords paramount themselves, for his name was inscribed on the coins and inserted in the prayer of the Tartar kingdom of Kashgar, beyond their dominions. As supreme head of his family and nation, he had placed his brethren upon dependent thrones. The five sons of a prince of the same house of Seljuk, who had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan, were eager to revenge his death upon his son; but while the armies were expecting the signal to engage, the Khalif condescended to interpose his mediation. "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, both by birth and faith, unite your forces in an holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his Apostle." The Sultan acquiescing, embraced his rebellious kinsmen; and the eldest, Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which authorized his hereditary government of whatever provinces he could sever from the Roman empire. Accompanied by his four brothers, he crossed the Euphrates, and settled in Asia Minor; and this was the heaviest blow sustained by Christianity since the conquests of the early Khalifs. By the propagation of Islam, Soliman earned the title of Gazi (غازي), Champion of the Faith; and he chose for the capital of his kingdom of Roum, Nice, the seat of

the first general Council, so that the unity of God and the mission of Mohammed were continually proclaimed in the city in which the Christian creed had been first authoritatively defined, but where, now, the professors of that creed could only on the payment of tribute enjoy the exercise of their religion. The holy land had passed, as well as Egypt, out of the hands of the Abbasside into those of the Fatimite Khalifs; but they were nominally restored to the former by the house of Seljuk, which reigned about twenty years over Jerusalem, but entrusted the hereditary government of it to the chief of a Turkoman tribe.

This fact would not have been noticed in this rapid historical sketch, had not these rough conquerors, by their tyranny and exaction, oppressed the pilgrims who came in an increasing number to visit the temporary sepulchre of our risen Saviour. The tale which they brought back of insults and sufferings was the proximate cause of the crusade proclaimed by Pope Urban the Second, which was hailed by the shouts of an immense audience as the will of God, and was enforced by the promise of a plenary indulgence to all who would enlist under the banner of the cross. So vast was the multitude who undertook the engagement, that, in the energetic language of Anna Comnena, the daughter and historian of the Emperor Alexis, Europe was loosened from its foundations and hurled against Asia.* Historians dispute whether the crusades promoted or retarded Christian civilization; but there seems to be no doubt that they rolled back the tide which would otherwise have overflowed Europe from the east. The first of these so-called holy wars issued in the formation, under its leader, Godfrey of Boulogne, of the feudal kingdom of Jerusalem, which was maintained with difficulty for near a century. The Christian is interested in reading that his brother and successor, Baldwin, planted his standard on the walls of Tarsus, and founded, beyond the Euphrates, the principality of Edessa. Saladin, become the conqueror of Egypt and Syria, and pro-

A.D. 1095.

A.D. 1099 to 1187.

* Alexiad. X., p. 283.

A.D. 1187. tector of the holy cities Mecca and Medina, recovered Jerusalem, and shines in European annals as the worthy rival of the lion-hearted Richard. Oriental authors describe him as a saint, who exhibited throughout his bright career the spirit of a genuine, self-denying, pious Moslem, a pattern both in faith and practice. He abstained from wine and royal luxuries, and lived a dervish on his throne and in his camp. He lamented that the necessary defence of religion did not allow his performing the pilgrimage, but he was regular in prayer and fasting, and study of the Korán. He was a bigot, and condemned to death a theologian whose tenets he deemed heretical; but he was a self-denying and just ruler, and his life, as recorded by a friend,* favourably contrasts with that of his rival, whose brutality had not been softened by the poetry which he cultivated, nor by the purer faith which he professed without understanding its spirit.

Within half a century of the death of this admired Moslem prince, the civilization both of Islamiyah and of Christendom was endangered by an invasion of the Moghuls, who far surpassed, in the extent and the rapidity of their temporary conquests, the triumph of the early Khalifs; for not only the Roman empire, but China, and, ultimately, Hindostan, became the prey of these shepherd soldiers, under their Khan, Zingis, and his successors. Their immense hordes overran the kingdoms of Astrakhan and Cazan, and reduced to ashes both Moskow and Kiow. From the permanent conquest of Russia they made an inroad into the heart of Poland, destroying Cracow; and at Leignitz they defeated the grand dukes of Silesia and the master of the Teutonic knights, three only of the Hungarian fortresses withstanding this Tartar invasion. The storm which threatened Europe broke upon Bagdad and extinguished, the Khalifat, and with it the Mohammedan centre of unity, and the pontifical character of its sovereign. This fatal blow was reserved for Holagu, the grandson of Zingis, and the brother and the lieutenant of the two succeeding emperors.

A.D. 1235 to 1245.

* Bohaldin, whose work was published with a Latin Translation by Schultens. Ludg. Bat. 1755.

This irresistible adversary, advancing from Persia, which he had subdued, was opposed only by arrogant and irritating embassies from the last Khalif, who was deceived by a treacherous vizir, alienated from him by his persecution of the adherents of Ali. "On the divine decree is founded the throne of the sons of Abbas"—such was his proud language—"and their foes shall surely be punished in this world and in the next. Who is this Holagu, who dares to rise up against them? If he desire peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory, and he may perhaps obtain from our clemency the pardon of his offence." But Holagu was not awed by these menaces: he advanced, and the phantom which had been so long held forth to overawe mankind vanished on his approach. After a two months' siege, Bagdad was stormed and sacked, A.D. and the savage conqueror put the Khalif to death. The stream, 1258. driven back from Egypt by the Mamluks (مماليك), (originally, as their name indicates, the slaves, and then the masters of the Fatimite Khalifs), overflowed Armenia and Anatolia, the former governed by the Christians, the latter by the Turks. The Sultan of Iconium sought refuge among the Greeks of Constantinople; and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljuk dynasty, were extirpated by the Khans of Persia.

The decline of the Moghuls gave free scope to the rise and progress of the Ottoman empire, which, under a succession of able sovereigns, grew up to be as formidable to Christendom on the east, as the Arabs of Spain had been formerly on the west. The fall, in battle, of Jelaleddin, sovereign of Persia, dissolved his veteran army, which included within it many Turkomans. The bolder of their Emirs invaded Syria, and took possession of the holy sepulchre: the less aspiring engaged in the service of Alaaldin, Sultan of Iconium, and among them was the obscure progenitor of the family of the sovereign known to us, through the Venetians, as the Grand Signor, or great Lord. At Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred tents was formed by Orthogul, which he ruled for A.D. above half a century. Circumstances promoted the indepen- 1299 to dence of his son Othman during a reign of more than twenty- 1326.

five years. The Seljuk dynasty had expired, and the distance of the Moghul Khans freed him from the control of a superior, while a political mistake of the Greek Emperors unlocked to him the passes of Mount Olympus. Instead of retreating after an inroad, like former marauders, he maintained the most defensible posts, and kept and fortified the towns he had pillaged. We may date the Ottoman empire from the conquest of Brusa by his son Orchan, whose services to the Greek Emperor were rewarded by the hand of his daughter. It was reserved for his grandson Amurath to establish himself in Europe. He made Adrianople his capital, postponing the easy conquest of Constantine's new Rome. He marched against the Slavonians, who had taken possession of Thrace, and greatly advanced his power by the formation of a company of Yengi Sheri (Janissaries), or the new soldiers, consisting of captive Christian youths, who, like the Prætorian guards, and the mercenary attendants of other absolute sovereigns, ended in tyrannizing over their nominal masters, till they were butchered in cold blood, in our own days, by the late reforming Sultan. The humble title of Emir was no longer suitable to Ottoman power, and his son Bajazet accepted the distinction of Sultan from the Khalif of Egypt. He overran Hungary, and threatened Constantinople; but this last retreat of the Christian Emperors was saved unexpectedly by a second invasion of Moghuls, led by Tamerlane, whose ambition could not brook an equal, and whose defeat and capture of Bajazet delayed, for a short season, the fall of Constantinople. "I am not a man of blood," said the invader, so mild in words, so savage in deeds, to the Kadhi of Aleppo. Yet during this very conversation there was a massacre in the streets; and it was his custom, as at Bagdad, to mark the fall of a city by a pyramid of human heads! Unlike the Pagan Zingis, he professed the Mohammedan creed. His letter to the Turkish Sultan was overbearing. "Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia: contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe. Thy sword was blessed by the Apostle of God, and thy obedience to the

A.D. 1360 to 1389.

Korán, in warring on the unbelievers, alone prevents my destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Moslems." He was a bigoted partisan of Ali, and his discussion with this Kadhi of that Sovereign's right to the Khalifat provoked the exclamation, "Ye are as false as the people of Damascus. Moawiyah was an usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali is the lawful successor of the Prophet." Damascus was reduced to ashes, because his religious zeal moved him, after the lapse of centuries, to avenge on it the death of Hosein; and it assumed a more amiable direction by the pardon and reward of some thousand Shiyahs, who were desirous of visiting his tomb. Bajazet had two years in which he might have collected his forces. Tamerlane invested Angouria, and it was close upon that city that he was completely defeated, and was thus reproached by his conqueror. "The decree is now accomplished by thine own fault. I wished to spare, and even to assist, the champion of the Moslems. Thou bravedst us, and forced us to enter thy kingdom with our invincible arms. Behold the result." Bajazet soon sunk under his mortification, but his son was permitted to reign in his ruined capital. The second Amurath, grandson of Bajazet, is a favourable specimen of a Sultan. Cantemir, the Christian historian, describes him as learned, merciful, religious, charitable, a good emperor, and a great general. Under his reign the soldiers were always victorious, the citizens rich and secure. On subduing a country, his first care was to build mosques, caravanseries, hospitals, and colleges. He paid an annual pension to the descendants of the Prophet, and sent presents to men of sanctity in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. His justice and moderation are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians. He seldom entered on a war without an adequate cause: he was easily appeased by submission, and in his respect to treaties his word was inviolate. The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors; and after his first siege of Constantinople he was never tempted to extinguish, as he might have easily done, the expiring light of the Byzantine empire. The striking and unique feature in his history is his double abdication. At no

A.D. 1403.

A.D. 1422.

more than forty years of age, he resigned his sceptre to his son, and retired to Magnesia to fast and pray, and whirl round in the mystic dances of the dervishes. The new crusade under Ladislaus, the youthful sovereign of both Hungary and Poland, awakened him from his dream of enthusiasm. His son was foremost to urge his resuming his sovereignty, and, under the banner of their former honoured leader, the Turks routed the
A.D. 1444. perjured Christians in the fatal field of Warna, in which perished Ladislaus and Cardinal Julian, who, in the Pope's name as Vicar of Christ, had absolved this perjured prince. Amurath returned to his dervishes, till his religious exercises were once more interrupted by the intestine dangers of the state, caused by the rebellion of the Janissaries. At his well-known voice they trembled and obeyed; but the reluctant Sultan was constrained to reign till his death. Diocletian and Charles V. have of their own accord, in maturer years, descended from the throne; but Amurath, alone, after the trial both of public and private life, has proved his preference of
A.D. 1451. the latter.

The conquest of Constantinople, precisely five centuries
A.D. 1455. since, was reserved for his son, the second Mohammed, a bigot like himself, and so devout, that, after conversing with an unbeliever, he was used to purify himself by the legal ablutions. He reformed the pomp of his predecessors, but it was only that he might transfer what he saved to ambition; and his sobriety is attested by the silence of the annals, which accuse no more than three of the Ottoman line of drunkenness. Still his nature was savage and licentious; yet he had the benefit of a careful education. He is said to have understood five languages; and in taking possession of the home of the Cæsars, he repeated the Persian distich of Sadi—

پرده داری میکند فی قصر قیصر عنکبوت
بومی نوبت میزند بر کنبد افراسیاب.

"The spider holds the veil in the castle of Cæsar.
The owl stands sentinel on the watch-tower of Afrasiab.

During the siege several embassies had passed between the

camp and the city; but, after some fruitless negociations, Mohammed declared his resolution of finding under its walls a throne or a grave. Palœologus refused to yield from fear of reproach, and he determined to resist to the last extremity. In this holy warfare, as it was regarded by the Moslems, the soldiers were exhorted to purify their bodies with seven ablutions, and to abstain from food till the close of the next day; while a crowd of dervishes frequented the tents, to instil into their minds the desire of martyrdom, with its reward, the enjoyments of a perpetual youth in delightful gardens. In the assault, the brave emperor was long seen conspicuous in the defence, but finally disappeared, his body being buried under the heap of slain. The conqueror alighted from his horse at the great door of Santa Sophia: the crosses were thrown down, and the paintings and mosaics, which embellished the walls of the Cathedral of the Empire, were ordered to be hid under a coat of plaster. On the following Friday the muezzin invited the Moslems to prayer in the name of God and their Prophet; and the imam preached, and Mohammed prayed on the high altar, from which the Eucharist had been so lately received by the last of the Cæsars. The loss of Constantinople was followed by that of the Moræa. The sack of Otranto diffused consternation over Europe, and Pope Sixtus the Fourth was preparing for flight beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispersed by the death of Mohammed. He had aspired to the conquest of Italy; he had taken possession of one of its strong cities, with a capacious harbour; and had not death checked his career, his reign might have been distinguished by the surrender of the old as well as of the new Rome.

The danger which had threatened Christendom, at the period of its reviving civilization, from the Moslems of Spain, now alarmed it from the opposite direction, notwithstanding its growth in population and power, and called, but in vain, for a new and more reasonable crusade. At that crisis, when the kings of Spain and France were competitors for the imperial throne, Selim had added both Syria and Egypt to his dominions, and with

A.D. 1481.

the conquest of the latter received the Egyptian Khalif's abdication, in his favour, of his dignity, and the homage of the Sherif of Mecca, who sent him the keys of the Caaba. The most effectual method of stopping his progress westward seemed
A.D. 1518. to be the election of an emperor like Charles, possessed of extensive territories in the country in which the impression would be first felt, who had also at his command the army of Spain, and the wealth furnished by the commerce of the Low Countries, and the mines of the new world. The danger had not been overrated, for the Ottomans crossed the Danube, abetted by the discontented Slavonian population, and alarmed the inhabitants of Vienna. The panic suspended hostilities between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and Luther pressed upon both sides the defence of their common faith. The alarm gradually subsided, but as time advanced the danger became more imminent, for the seventeenth century beheld the imperial residence invaded by a Turkish army, strengthened by Hungarian rebels. The emperor, with the greater part of the ordinary population, had retired to a place of safety, and Vienna, after the demolition of the suburbs, had a breach made in its wall. It was delivered, as it were, by miracle. Kara Mustapha, the grand vizir, despising his enemy, and wasting time in luxurious indulgence, neglected, some say treacherously, to urge the assault. At this crisis the besieged were cheered by the signal, from a neighbouring mountain, of unexpected deliverance. At the head of sixty thousand soldiers, John Sobieski, the heroic king of Poland, is welcomed as the preserver of Christendom. The vizir advanced to give him battle, while a detachment attempted to force an entrance into Vienna. The assault was repelled; the
A.D. 1683. Turkish army, seized with a panic, was routed, and abandoned, not only tents and baggage, but even the reputed standard of their Prophet, which was presented as a trophy to the Pope. The retreat was followed by the peace of Carlowitz; and the danger, averted, we trust, for ever, has been since impending over the formerly invading power.

The Ottoman empire has been rapidly declining; Greece

has become an independent kingdom; little support can be looked for from Egypt; and province after province, both in Europe and Asia, have been surrendered to the arms or subtle diplomacy of Russia. The Czar, regarding the Turk as in the agony of political death, hastened to accomplish the long-cherished project of his family, and it seemed as if, at last, he might drive the unbelievers out of Europe. But the hour for the restoration to Christendom of the capital of the Greek empire had not, as he fondly imagined, arrived. The autocrat head of the Greek church, and the self-appointed protector of his co-religionists in the Ottoman dominions, came forward like a crusader. The Sultan, instead of yielding, as expected, advanced to the conflict, with troops trained according to European tactics; and France and England, the representatives of Papal and Protestant states, alarmed at the prospect of Russian aggrandizement, sent forth their armies for his protection. Politicians were looking forward to a protracted and doubtful contest; but the Russian emperor who had provoked the war is removed by death; and, while England was about to act with redoubled energy, hostilities have, contrary to our expectations, ceased. Russian statesmen must surely have been convinced by this determined exertions of the Allies that the surrender of Constantinople is indefinitely postponed; and the terms of the peace are so moderate, that we may reasonably calculate on its continuance. Short as the war has proved, it has been long enough to shew the Turks that there are Christians who abhor the worship of images, and scarcely yield to themselves in the simplicity of their ritual: and if they had any intercourse with our soldiers, they must have seen that many, both officers and privates, adorned and recommended their religion by their conduct. While the politician is satisfied with the result, the Christian philanthropist rejoices in the imperial decree, which places all the subjects of the Sultan on an equality, and tolerates the conversion of his Mohammedan subjects; a decree which, probably, never would have been issued, had he not felt the depth of his obligations to his Christian allies. The observer of the signs

of the times knows that the seed that has long been abundantly scattered over Turkey by the zealous agents of the Bible Society, has not all fallen by the wayside; but, owing mainly to American Missionaries, has in many places sprung up; and that Protestant congregations have even been formed in Brusa, the original Ottoman capital, and in other places in Asia Minor, the reputed last home of Islam. The Mohammedan system is a palace of antiquated architecture, not in keeping with the neighbouring buildings, undermined and nodding to its fall. It has from the first appealed to the sword, but the sword to which it owed its rapid progress is no longer in the hands of its supporters; and while the zeal of its real adherents has cooled, a mystical pantheistic philosophy, fostered by their most admired poets, has long superseded, among the men of letters, the simple unitarianism of the Korán, while European knowledge is gradually spreading in the masses of the Moslem population which are under the authority or within reach of the influence of France and England. The Sultan may be said only to exist by their sufferance. Algeria has been for more than a quarter of a century a province of France.; and we trust that from Sierra Leone a better civilization, founded not upon the Korán but the Bible, will penetrate the interior of Africa; and England is pressing more and more upon Islam in the east.

India was one of the latest acquisitions of Mohammed; for idolatry reigned there without control, and was first disturbed in the eleventh century by Mahmud, the far-famed Sultan of Gazna. A.D. 997 to 1028. This prince, of Turkish extraction, having formed between Persia and India a kingdom, which has, under different dynasties and names, continued to subsist, was impelled by religion and by covetousness to enter the Punjab, which had been molested by no invader since Alexander. His title was invented for him by the Khalif; and as it was his reward as champion and extender of the faith, it has, in the estimation of pious Moslems, a sacred dignity, which deems it profaned when transferred to a Christian monarch. Yet though he added Lahore to his dominions, he was rather the plunderer than the conqueror of India, and his fame rests on the treasures in gold and precious

stones which he accumulated during his twelve holy expeditions. The last and most memorable was distinguished by the acquisition of the temple of Sommanat, which was gained after a severe contest with an immense army, which came for the rescue of the revered shrine. His piety overruled his covetousness, and he ordered the gigantic statue to be broken into pieces. The Brahmins offered so great a ransom, that Mahmud's officers pressed him to accept it; but he indignantly rejected the proposal of becoming a seller of idols, and his forbearance was amply rewarded, for the blows of his soldiers revealed a treasure within the body far surpassing in value the proffered bribe. The sandal-wood doors of the temple were carried off as a trophy, and continued till our own time to dignify the entrance of his mausoleum at Gazna. They had not escaped the knowledge of the British Governor-General; and when it was judged expedient to avenge upon the Afghans the murder of our officials, and the annihilation of our invading army, these doors were brought back to India as the evidence of victory and recovered honour. It was not, however, easy to assign to them an appropriate destination, for, during the lapse of ages, the temple of Sommanat had become a solitary deserted ruin. Had it continued an object of Hindu veneration, the Brahmins would probably have deprecated the restoration of doors which had long closed a mosque: and the gift would have been sacrilege in a Christian government, which is happily breaking through its too long cherished connection with idolatry. It was not till two centuries after Mahmud that the founder of the succeeding house, Mohammed Gouri, established himself at Delhi, which has ever since continued the capital of a Moslem power; but owes its fame to the line of princes, which commenced with Baber, the great-great-grandson of the universal conqueror Tamerlane, who has better pretensions than any other person to the title of sovereign of the world. The reader of history is familiar with the names at least of those sovereigns, called, from their extraction, the Great Moghuls, whose magnificence has been described by French and English travellers, and especially with that of Akbar, who assembled at his court the

professors of all creeds, and attempted to introduce a new religion, the symbol of which was, "There is no God but God, and Akbar is his Khalif. The thousandth year since the flight of Mohammed was at hand, and there was a current saying that such was the destined duration of his creed. His object seems to have been to amalgamate, if possible, into one faith, the polytheism of the Hindus and the unitarianism of their conquerors. Akbar was timid, and talked instead of acting; and the attempt might have been followed out by his great-grandson, Dara, a competitor for the empire, and the author of a work upon the subject, if he had not been put to death by his brother Aurungzeb, whose long reign was protracted into his ninety-fourth year. His character was a complete contrast to that of his predecessors, for he lived an austere self-denying life, like a fakír, and was so bigoted, that he desecrated a pagoda by killing within its enclosure a cow, destroyed that of Krishna in Mattara, his reputed home, and erected at Benares a magnificent mosque on a conspicuous eminence, to domineer over the idols of that metropolis of Brahminism. For him was reserved the conquest of the peninsula; but the glory of the house of Tamerlane was short-lived, for it expired with him; and the empire, which he had completed, fell to pieces under a rapid succession of incapable and unfortunate princes. The first blow came from without, from the temporary occupation of Delhi, first, by the pillaging Nadir Shar, and, after his death, by the Afghans. Then the Mahrattas, Rohillas, and other subject tribes, rebelled, and at length the Great Moghul became a prisoner in his palace, while the governing chief derived authority from his name. The battle of Assaye, which first made known to fame the great Captain of our age, really transferred the sceptre to the British merchants, who, till the time of Clive, had no other territorial possession than their three factories, and procured for the representative of Akbar Jehangir and Shah Jehan a kind and honourable treatment: but even his nominal reign soon ceased, and the East-India Company now govern, not in his name, but in their own as independent sovereigns,

the greater part of this vast and populous country. On the central plain, the heart of the Moghul sovereignty, there is a large Moslem population, comprising the descendants of three centuries, and there are many engaged in commerce and trade in the chief towns throughout India, but they bear a small proportion to the native race of idolaters, which it has been the policy of the English to favour, as was shewn by placing on the throne of Mysore, when wrested from Tippoo, a descendant of the ancient rajahs. Colleges have been instituted for the instruction of the Hindus in European literature, and in the language of their governors; but such is the fear of hurting their religious feelings, that even a theoretical statement of Christian doctrine is rigidly excluded, though a better example was set by the Mohammedan rulers. These have now almost disappeared, for the nominal nabobs within our dominions have only the rank (which their title means) of deputies of the Great Moghul. Two of his feudatories, with the titles of Vizir and Nizam al molk, or Administrator of the Empire, have had, till now, the government of a few millions of souls; but, enclosed within British territory, they maintain, at their own expense, a British army, and, while at their respective capitals of Lucknow and Hydrabad they have the pomp of kings, the real power is in our Residents. I have said till now, for the last act of the retiring Governor-General has been to depose the incapable king of Oude, whose subjects will rejoice to be delivered from his exactions, and to be transferred to the sovereignty of the Company. The Mohammedans of India have been always within the reach of the preaching of the gospel; but the annexation of the Punjab seems the commencement of a new æra in the history of Missions, by bringing us to the frontier of Afghanistan and Persia. The Shiyahs of that kingdom have the reputation of being more liberal and less attached to their creed than their Turkish neighbours; and certainly, in Shiraz Henry Martyn was courteously received, though not only a preacher of Christianity, but also an opponent of Islam. The time seems now arrived for following up prudently the way that God's provi-

dence is opening to us in Turkey; and the fury excited among the Moslems at Agra by the conversion of a very few of their members, and their endeavour, by the minutiæ of criticism, to sustain their founder's charge of the corruption of the Scriptures, shews their alarm, and ought to be our encouragement to proclaim the Gospel in India as being, alike to idolater and to monotheist, the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation.

The Mohammedan world has now no more than two potentates worthy consideration—the Sultan of Turkey and the Shah of Persia. The former is regarded by the most important division, the Traditionists, as a Pope as well as Emperor. The Bagdad Khalifs, in imitation of their predecessors, were accustomed to lead the devotion and to preach in the mosques; but the Turkish Sultans have never assumed the title, and consequently the Moslem world has long been a body without a head, like the German Roman empire since deprived by the Emperor Napoleon of its lord paramount. These Sultans have devolved upon the mufti the office of deciding cases of conscience. Being, however, considered the fountain of ecclesiastical authority, a sanctity invests their persons; and, owing to this prejudice, Sultan Mahmud may be said, when he began his innovations, to have borne a charmed life, for he was childless and without relations, and if he had been cut off, there would have been a difficulty in providing a successor. There is a tradition, that Mohammed said the Khalifat would last thirty years, and be succeeded by governments established by usurpation. The first four Khalifs are regarded by the Traditionists as succeeding in order of merit: they were all Arabs, and elected. The Khalifat has been long virtually extinct: their empire having been broken up, there is now no temporal emperor of the Moslems, and there appears to be no need of a spiritual head of a religion, the creed of which is too simple to admit of important variation and to require a living interpreter.

The accession to the throne of Persia of the house of Sefi, a pious Sheikh, who traced his descent from Ali, established the

Shiyah system in that country, its original home. As their last imam is supposed to be still living, he has a representative called the Sheikh of Islam; and we may judge of the bitterness of theological hatred between these two divisions, from the letter addressed to the person then holding that supreme office by the victorious Selim, at the head of his army. He tells him, that the Oulema علما (a body, which may be considered as the learned, holding in commission the Khalifat,) have unanimously condemned him to death, in order to exterminate, in his person, heresy and impiety. Animated by the spirit of their decree, which is in conformity with the divine law, and inflamed with the holy desire of strengthening Islam, and delivering those who are groaning under his tyranny, Selim announces his advance at the head of an army. Still, in obedience to the Prophet, he first offers the Korán instead of the sabre, and exhorts him to embrace the orthodox faith. In these wars with the Persians, the bigotry of the Turks was always sharpened by the decrees of the mufti, affirming it to be more meritorious to put to death one Shiyah, than seventy Christians or other unbelievers. Such bigotry led to retaliation, and Shah Abbas, the most eminent of these sovereigns, tortured and executed with ignominy the Turkish lawyers who were taken by his soldiers. The usurper, Nadir Shah, established the rival system, and forbade both the cursing of the first three Khalifs and the proclamation of the excellence of Ali. On his assassination, the Shiyah system was restored. This enmity remains: and instead of uniting their forces against the princes who regard their prophet as a crafty impostor, or an half-crazed enthusiast, they are more disposed to turn their arms against each other, being more angry with those who differ from them on subordinate points, than with decided opponents.

The result of our survey is, that there is scarcely a Mohammedan state which is not overawed by some Christian Power. Even into the Indian Archipelago, where Islam has partially converted and civilized the rude aborigines, the Dutch have introduced Christianity; and we may hope that the natives of the large and populous island of Borneo will, under the

auspices of the enlightened English Rajah of Sarawak, Sir James Brooke, through the Bishop of Labuan and his clergy, be brought into the communion of our own church. The disorganized kingdom of Persia is weakened by its wars with its co-religionists of Afghanistan and the alarming neighbourhood of Russia, which has wrested from it several of its northern provinces. The insulated bigoted king of Bokhara may be able to maintain his position, but cannot contend with Russia; nor has he any sympathy with the Persians, whom he hates as heretics. Schamil, in Circassia, can do no more than beat back the Russians from his mountain fortresses; and Abd al Kader, after a vain attempt to uphold the Korán, is an exile. Algeria has been lost to Islam, Tunis is endangered, and Morocco may be said to be retained by a precarious tenure. It is in Africa that the faith of Mohammed appears to the most advantage; for there it is found, wherever our travellers and Missionaries have penetrated, not enforced by the sword, but by its superiority winning its way, even down to our Cape colony, and peacefully superseding a degrading idolatry, which is too often appeased by human victims. What a powerful stimulus ought this fact to be to our Missionary Societies to introduce into that benighted continent that real revelation, which has the promise both of this world and of that which is to come!

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION.

ISLAM is said to rest upon four foundations—1. the Book of God; 2. the Sonnah, سنّه, that is, Tradition; 3. Ijmaa, إجمع, the accordance in opinion of the orthodox theologians; and when these sources fail recourse is had to, 4. خياس Kias, reasoning.

ON THE KORAN.

Mohammed called his pretended revelation القران "Alkoran," the Reading, that is, what pre-eminently deserves to be read, and the name is probably derived from the passage which the angel Gabriel is said to have first revealed to him (Chap. XCVI.), "Read! in the name of thy Lord who hath created *thee*, who hath created man of congealed blood—read! for thy Lord is most bounteous. He it is who has taught by the pen, who has taught man what he did not know." It is often called the Book of God, and simply the Book, and declares its own sufficiency as an admonisher, an explanation of every thing; *i. e.* of faith and practice, and a director of good news and of mercy to the (moslem) resigned, the book in which there is no doubt, الفرمان the distinguisher (between truth and error), confirming what was revealed before it, that is, the law and the gospel.* It claims to be, in a higher sense than the Old and New Testament,

* ١ إِقْرَأْ بِٱسْمِ رَبِّكَ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَ ٢ خَلَقَ ٱلْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ ٣ إِقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ
ٱلْأَكْرَمُ ٤ ٱلَّذِى عَلَّمَ بِٱلْقَلَمِ ٥ عَلَّمَ ٱلْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ

the Word of God; for, with the exception of the messages of Jehovah through the prophets, they profess to be only the works of men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, still retaining their own peculiarities of style; whereas, throughout the Korán the Deity is himself the only speaker. Incapable of exhibiting the credentials of his mission, required both by the Jews and the idolaters of Mecca, Mohammed boldly appeals to the inimitable perfection of the Korán, making God reply, "Is it not enough that I have sent down the book to be read to them?" (XXIX. 50); upon which the commentator Jelaleddin enlarges as a permanent miracle which is superior to others, which cease on their performance, and can be witnessed by comparatively few. He is, says Algazali, the only prophet who exhibited a miracle of this description:—challenging the most eloquent of the Arabs, when eloquence was a profession, to produce ten, or even a single chapter, which could be compared with one of the Korán. Hence the verses are called miracles or signs ايات, and he magnifies the argument by observing that he was امّيّ, an illiterate, uneducated man, who had never studied books, nor travelled to attain knowledge. And it may be added, that it is not only a standing, but also a growing miracle, since the language has, since his time, been cultivated by a long series of admired authors in verse and prose. Mohammed hesitates not to say the Korán could have been composed by none but the Deity (X. 38); and that verily, if men and genii were purposely assembled in order to produce such a book, they could not, although the one assisted the other (XVII. 90): and of the latter the Korán says, in the chapter (LXXII. 1) that bears their name, that some of them, on hearing Mohammed read it, said, "Verily we have heard an admirable discourse, which directeth unto the right institution; wherefore we believe therein, and we will by no means associate any other with our Lord."

This Book, we are told, was not delivered at once, but in portions, smaller or greater as the case required, during a period of no less than twenty-three years, the remainder of the prophet's life; yet there are many passages—as, for instance,

the opening of the second chapter, "This is a book in which there is no doubt"—that describe it as already a whole; and this is certainly in conformity with Mohammed's own notion of a revelation, for the Korán speaks continually of the books of the ancient prophets, and represents both the Law and the Gospel as sent down complete to Moses and Jesus. It grew, of course, gradually into a volume, committed to memory by many, and carefully preserved, but seemingly not arranged in any order. Still the history shews that many verses were made known on particular occasions; and the two opinions were reconciled by the strange hypothesis, that the Korán, which had existed from eternity with God, had in time been conveyed from the preserved table, in the divine presence, to the lowest heaven, from which it was communicated, as needed, by Gabriel to the prophet. This is expressly declared in the opening of the forty-fourth chapter. "By the perspicuous book of the Korán: verily we have sent down the same in a blessed night, wherein is distinctly sent down the decree of every determined thing, as our command, the night of Alkader, the night which is better than a thousand months: it is peace until the rising of the morning" (XCVII.). It is well known that there are contradictory commands in the Korán, and some of the first importance, as the turning in prayer, first to Jerusalem, and then to Mecca, and the toleration first, and then the extermination, of idolaters. The interpreters cut, instead of untying, the knot, for they have invented the doctrine of abrogation: and the Korán has been so edited, that the abrogating verse sometimes precedes the abrogated. Such a change of purpose is hard to reconcile with the wisdom of a Being of perfect intelligence, who sees effects in their causes, and to whose mind all things have been present from the beginning; but the difficulty is enhanced if we believe that all those passages were at once extant in the archetype, on the preserved table. This has been always received as the orthodox doctrine, yet it has encountered a formidable opposition; for Almosdar the Motazelite, that is, Separatist, accused the other party of infidelity in thus asserting the existence of two eternal beings,

the Deity and the Korán. And his view was maintained, not only by heretics, but even by Almamun, who, though regarded with suspicion as the introducer of Greek science into his court, through translations, and a decided favourer of the cause of Ali, was still, as Khalif, the authorized Commander of the faithful. Determined to enforce the doctrine he had adopted, he ordered his governor of Bagdad to convene the most distinguished theologians. They were strictly questioned, but remained firm in the received opinion, and one of them was no less a person than Ebn Hanbal, the author of the fourth orthodox sect. He was sent in chains with another leading character to Tarsus, and only escaped capital punishment by the unexpected decease of their persecutor. He afterwards died in consequence of a severe scourging for his perseverance in this opinion, for the brother and successor of Almamun, the Khalif Mestanser, and his son Vathek, continued to persecute all who asserted the eternity of the Korán. At length his son Motawakell, who was as hostile as his immediate predecessors had been devoted to the memory of Ali, suffered the dispute to die away; and both parties ultimately acquiesced in the decision thus expressed by Algazali. The Korán is pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in the memory, and yet is eternal, subsisting in the Divine essence, and not separate from it. This court of inquiry is said to have been abolished, and the discussion prohibited, in consequence of the happy reply to the question by a venerable Sheikh, who, on being interrogated, appealed to the silence of the prophet. "Was that silence," he asked, "the result of ignorance, or was it from the wish of concealing a mystery?" The judge's answer was, that the prophet could not be supposed to be ignorant of the nature of the holy book, but he did not think proper to reveal it. "What right have you, then," returned the prisoner, "to make yourself a judge of the question, by maintaining with fire and sword a dogma on which he kept a respectful silence?"

As Islam prevailed, and was established by the sword, none ventured to question that, whether created or not, it was a divine revelation. But at the opening of the prophet's career

those who demanded such a decisive sign, as those that inaugurated the Law and the Gospel, were not to be silenced by the appeal to the inherent miracle of the book. They spoke of it as a fabrication, and a collection of fables: still they seem to have admitted its literary superiority; for the unbelievers say (x.) this is manifest sorcery, and a subsequent oriental definition of poetry is lawful magic; and "We have not taught Mohammed the art of poetry, nor is it expedient for him, for this book is no other than an admonition, and a perspicuous Korán" (xxxvi.). They accused him of a fraud and of having confederates. "This Korán is no other than a forgery, which he has contrived, and others have assisted him" (xxv.). "Verily a certain man teacheth him (xviii.), and thus he meets the objection." The tongue of the person to whom they incline is a foreign one, but this is perspicuous Arabic. But the argument affects only the diction: and from the uniformity of style, and from the frequent repetition of the same identical phrases, even, I may say, to an annoying excess, we may fairly assume, that, from whatever source he procured his facts and his ideas, he clothed them with his own words. The Mohammedan authors mention several presumed assistants, but no particular chapters are assigned to any; and it is only worth while to specify one of them, Salman, a Persian, who communicated to him, from the Zend Avesta, the descriptions of heaven and hell, especially of the narrow bridge crossing the abyss, over which the righteous alone pass, while the condemned drop in, and of the houris, or black-eyed damsels, which heighten the enjoyments of the blessed in the gardens and palaces of heaven. The early Christian writers give him as his chief assistant a Nestorian, monk, Sergius, whom the Mohammedans call Boheira, and say that he foretold his future mission when, as a youth, he accompanied his uncle Abu Thaleb to Bostra. On these two journeys, however, his opportunities of conversing and scheming with him must have been few, and he could hardly have aspired so young to be the prophet of his country. The gnostic errors, too, which he adopts, not from the canonical, but the apocryphal Gospels, could not be

derived from this source; and in his communication with Jews, too, he was unfortunate, for he has spoilt the narratives of the Hebrew writers, by taking the fables of the Talmud instead of the Old-Testament facts, and makes unaccountably gross mistakes, which could answer no purpose and are fatal to his credit, since they contradict the books to the authenticity of which he bears repeated testimony. In fact, we know nothing of his previous life except his marriage; and before he announced himself as the messenger of God he had abundant leisure to think over his schemes, and to collect materials at home or on his commercial journeys. Still there was no need to go abroad for information, for he had a confidential friend at home, Wareka, an aged cousin of Kadijah, who is said to have professed first Christianity and then Judaism, and even to have translated the Scriptures. This report, however, is disproved by Mohammed's ignorance of them: still he may have communicated to him his own imperfect knowledge, and he is said to have encouraged him, and to have convinced his wife of his mission. I assume that Mohammed gained his knowledge, such as it was, where he could, but was the sole author of the Korán; for if he had had partners in the work they must have been discovered, and after his success they would willingly have expected to share his fame and authority. Surrounded, as he always was at Medina, with company, and liable to constant interruption, we can hardly conceive how he could find time to compose it. My opinion is, that he was ready enough to bring out verses on an emergency, but that the long narratives, which were as suitable to his object at one time as at another, were premeditated, and substantially committed to memory when he had more leisure.

Mohammed, unable, it is generally believed, to write himself, had, in the course of his life, no less than fifteen secretaries, the two most eminent of whom, and the most confidential, were Abubekr and Othman, both sons-in-law, and both successively Khalifs. They must have furnished copies to those who wished for them, for we hear continually of chapters being read and recited; but it was left for Abubekr to form them into a

volume, not only from the palm leaves and skins on which they were written, but some from the recollection of believers. The idea occurred to him, from the fall of so many of them in the battle against Moselima, the rival prophet, and in other wars; and the transcript was entrusted to the custody of one of his widows, not Ayesha, which might have excited suspicion of its authenticity, but Hafsa, a daughter of Omar. As, however, other copies (at least of portions) were in circulation, differing from each other, the khalif Othman, desirous of securing a perfect text, published this as authentic, and ordered all others to be destroyed. There are consequently no various readings of importance: I say of importance, because the text is anterior to the use of vowels and signs, the introudction of which has caused some minor discrepancies.

The order of chapters is the most artless imaginable. Excluding the short introductory one called the Opening, they are arranged according to their length, the earlier containing two hundred or even three hundred verses, the latter only five or six. They are called اسوار "Aswar," that is, the plural of سورة "Surah," a word meaning a series, as of bricks, but not applied to the chapters of profane works. Each chapter is designated by a name, as, the Cow, the Family of Imram, Joseph, according to the subject, and sometimes from a prominent word, as, the Pen, the Daybreak, the Earthquake. The title of each tells us whether it was revealed at Mecca or Medina: the former amount to eighty-three, the latter to twenty-eight, and three are uncertain. This supplies the only key to the genius of the Korán, and consequently to the character of its author; and whoever wishes to form a correct judgment of them will study the volume in chronological order. At Mecca he appears to have been more the poet, at Medina the orator; but the change of circumstances affected not only his literary, but also his religious character; for at Mecca he is the admonisher, who argues to persuade; at Medina the sovereign, who commands obedience, and employs the sword as well as the pen.

The claim of the Korán to inspiration, not so much from the matter as from the style, naturally provokes criticism; but still, especially when we consider it as the first work of the kind

in poetic prose, and of considerable length, it is an astonishing production, and no doubt its excellence went far to establish the faith in Mohammed's mission. Its literary merit is of course magnified by the extraordinary disadvantages of every kind under which it was composed. It owed much of its fascination to its matter, new to those who first heard it; and yet I think the author was remarkably deficient in imagination, for almost all the contents are borrowed and reproduced from Jewish, Christian, or Magian sources. Its chief charm must have been its measured cadence; for it is not, like Ossian, and Telemaque, and the Martyrs, a poem in prose, as they have been called, but there is a continual though irregular recurrence of rhymes. Sale and others have given us correct versions, but they have altogether neglected to represent this essential feature, even by occasional blank verse, or the choice of poetical words. In our own, or the French language, we could hardly give a tolerable likeness of the original, but German is more manageable, and those who understand it will find many passages happily translated by that eminent orientalist of our time, the late Baron von Hammer Purgstall. To me, the chief fault is the obscurity occasioned by its very elliptical style. This objection applies to the narratives as well as phrases, for they could scarcely be understood by persons who never before heard of them, though to the Jews they would suggest their own wilful perversion of the Pentateuch. Take, for example, the temptation of Joseph. "She (the wife of Potiphar) resolved within herself, and he would have resolved, had he not seen the evident demonstration of his lord." What that demonstration was we are left to learn from the commentaries. Some say, the voice of Gabriel, others, the apparition of his father. To the unbelieving critic the perusal of the Korán will be disappointing and wearisome from its frequent repetitions; and except with some special object, few I apprehend, have read through any translation, although stimulated by curiosity to peruse what has been for ages regarded, even by learned and intelligent men, as inspired. We may perhaps adopt as a fair criticism the estimate of Gibbon,* who is by no means disposed to

* Decline and Fall, ch. L.

undervalue either Mohammed or his book: "The European infidel will peruse with impatience the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The Divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian Missionary, but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job." Certainly, even in style, and merely as a composition, it would stand no comparison with the Hebrew Scriptures; but we should recollect that their magnificent imagery of the prophets, and their inspired conceptions of the Deity, were alike unknown to Mohammed and his hearers, whose "ignorance," to use the words of Gibbon, was "incapable of comparing the productions of human genius." The highest and most disinterested testimony to its literary superiority is that of Lebid, one of the seven celebrated poets, whose poems were called معلقات "Suspended," because hung on the Caaba; and he is said, on hearing one of the most poetical surahs, the 55th (the Merciful), to have declared that such a composition must have been inspired. Long after, being called upon by the Khalif Omar to repeat one of his poems, he recited the commencement of the second: "This is the book in which there is no doubt a guide to those who fear, to those who believe in what is secret, and who keep up prayer, and who, out of what we have provided them with, spend [in alms], and they who believe in what has been sent down to thee; and in what has been sent down to them before thee, and, with regard to the next world, feel sure? These are under the guidance of their Lord, and these shall prosper."* And he added, that after he had read this he

* ذَلِكَ ٱلْكِتَابُ لَا رَيْبَ فِيهِ هُدًى لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ ٱلَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْغَيْبِ وَيُقِيمُونَ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنفِقُونَ وَٱلَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِمَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ وَمَا أُنزِلَ مِن قَبْلِكَ وَبِالْآخِرَةِ هُمْ يُوقِنُونَ أُولَٰئِكَ عَلَىٰ هُدًى مِّن رَّبِّهِمْ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ ٱلْمُفْلِحُونَ

composed no more poetry. It may be presumed, therefore, from his piety, and from the substance of the passage, that he admired more the sentiments than the diction. And this is confirmed by his distich which Mohammed was in the habit of repeating:

Praise which is not ascribed to God is vain:
The good another gives is but a shadow.

According to one tradition, though he lived to an extreme old age, he uttered no more than this couplet after his conversion:

الحمد لله اذ لم ياتنى اجل
حتّى لبست من الاسلام سربالا

Praise be to God that death did not arrive
Till in the vest of Islam I was clothed.

There is, however, another tradition, that he rendered himself useful to Mohammed by writing against Amrulkais, the finest of the seven poets, who continued a heathen.

Maracci and others give, as a favourable specimen, the chapter called after the Sun:—

١ وَٱلشَّمْسِ وَضُحَاهَا ٢ وَٱلْقَمَرِ إِذَا تَلَاهَا ٣ وَٱلنَّهَارِ إِذَا جَلَّاهَا
٤ وَٱللَّيْلِ إِذَا يَغْشَاهَا ٥ وَٱلسَّمَاءِ وَمَا بَنَاهَا ٦ وَٱلْأَرْضِ وَمَا
طَحَاهَا ٧ وَنَفْسٍ وَمَا سَوَّاهَا ٨ فَأَلْهَمَهَا فُجُورَهَا وَتَقْوَاهَا ٩ قَدْ
أَفْلَحَ مَنْ زَكَّاهَا ١٠ وَقَدْ خَابَ مَنْ دَسَّاهَا ١١ كَذَّبَتْ ثَمُودُ
بِطَغْوَاهَا ١٢ إِذِ ٱنْبَعَثَ أَشْقَاهَا ١٣ فَقَالَ لَهُمْ رَسُولُ ٱللَّهِ نَاقَةَ ٱللَّهِ
وَسُقْيَاهَا ١٤ فَكَذَّبُوهُ فَعَقَرُوهَا فَدَمْدَمَ عَلَيْهِمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِذَنْبِهِمْ فَسَوَّاهَا
١٥ وَلَا يَخَافُ عُقْبَاهَا

" By the sun and her brightness;
" By the moon when he follows her;
" By the day when it enlightens her;

" By the night when it covers her;
" By the heaven, and he who built it;
" By the earth, and him who spread it out;
" By the soul, and him who formed it,
" And breathed into it both wickedness and piety.
" Certainly he is happy who has purified it;
" And certainly he is miserable who has corrupted it.
" Thamud, through wickedness, treated (*their prophet Saleh*) as an impostor,
" When the wretch among them was sent (*to slay the camel*),
" And the messenger of God said to them, The camel of God, let her drink,
" And they treated him as an imposter, and slew her.
" And their Lord destroyed them for their crime,
" And he punished all alike, and he feared not the issue of it."*

Whatever rythmical attraction the passage may possess, we cannot fail to be struck with the absurdity which is continually occurring in the Korán of causing the Creator to swear by his creatures, even by insects and plants. This is condemned in

* I transcribe, as a specimen, Baron von Hammer's translation in the Mines de l'Oriente:

Bey der Sonne, und ihrem schimmer;
Bey dem Mond der ihr folget immer;
Bey dem Tag der sie ziegt in vollem glanz;
Bey der Nacht, die sie verfinstert ganz;
Bey der Himmeln und dem der sie gemacht;
Bey der Erde und dem der sie schuft eben;
Bey der seele und dem der sie ins gleichgewicht gebracht,
Bey dem der ihr das bewusstseyn des guten und bösen gegeben,
Selig wer seine seele reinigt.
Wer dieselbe verdunklet wird auf ewig gepeinigt,
Das volk Themud empörte sich wieder den Gotgesandten.
Als die elendsten derselben herzu rannten,
Sprach zu ihnen der Prophet, Seht Gottes kamel, gebt ihm zu trinken,
Sie ziehen ihn lügen schlacteten das kamel da liess der Herr auf sie seinen grimm sinken.
Er fürchtet von ihnen nicht desgleichen.

in the genuine scriptures by anticipation; for it is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews, vi. 13—16, that "when God made a promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself; for men verily swear by the greater."

According to D'Herbelot the most admired passage is the recital of the drowning of one of Noah's sons, which is praised by Sir William Jones* as truly magnificent, and inferior in sublimity only to the simple declaration of the creation of light in Genesis.

وَهِيَ تَجْرِي بِهِمْ فِي مَوْجٍ كَالْجِبَالِ وَنَادَى نُوحٌ ابْنَهُ وَكَانَ فِي
مَعْزِلٍ يَا بُنَيَّ ارْكَبْ مَعَنَا وَلَا تَكُنْ مَعَ الْكَافِرِينَ قَالَ سَآوِي
إِلَى جَبَلٍ يَعْصِمُنِي مِنَ الْمَاءِ قَالَ لَا عَاصِمَ الْيَوْمَ مِنْ أَمْرِ اللَّهِ إِلَّا
مَنْ رَحِمَ وَحَالَ بَيْنَهُمَا الْمَوْجُ فَكَانَ مِنَ الْمُغْرَقِينَ وَقِيلَ يَا
أَرْضُ ابْلَعِي مَاءَكِ وَيَا سَمَاءُ أَقْلِعِي وَغِيضَ الْمَاءُ وَقُضِيَ الْأَمْرُ
وَاسْتَوَتْ عَلَى الْجُودِيِّ وَقِيلَ بُعْدًا لِلْقَوْمِ الظَّالِمِينَ

"And it passed with them through the waves as mountains. And Noah called out to his son, and he was apart, O, my son, embark with us, and be not with the unbelievers. He said, I will ascend a mountain, which will protect me from the water. He said, There is no protection this day from the decree of God, except from mercy. And the wave passed between them, and he was among the drowned. And it was said, O earth, swallow thy water! and, O heaven, withhold (thy rain)! And the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled, and the ark rested on Aljudi. And it was said, Avaunt, ye tribe of the wicked!"

It is not my object to depreciate whatever literary excellence the Korán may possess, on which, since, as it seems to be

* In his Latin Commentary on Asiatic Poetry.

specially claimed for its language, I do not feel competent to sit in judgment. I will only observe, that in every language there are favourite authors, whose fame, once established, no subsequent writer is allowed to equal them and their very faults are praised by fond and uncritical admirers; and that when the matchless beauty of the Korán was received as an article of faith, it became dangerous to call it in question, though persons are recorded, of course branded as heretics, who have ventured to deny its preeminence. The number of competent judges of such a question is very limited; and its literary superiority must be taken upon trust by an immense majority of believers. The remark applies even to the greater part of those whose native tongue is Arabic, and the judgment of the Moslems of foreign birth can have little more weight than that of European orientalists. A serious objection may be urged even against the nature of such a miracle; for in every country, and especially in ages of early and imperfect civilization, the power of poetry to fascinate the imagination, and to give the feelings the mastery over the judgment, is confessed: and it is a trite remark, that the orator can, with persuasive accents, make the worse appear the better reason. I thus dismiss the consideration of the diction of the Korán; but of the ideas which it embodies, literary persons of other creeds are as competent to form an estimate as the best modern Arabic scholars. We may grant that its description of the Supreme Being, creator, preserver, and governor of the universe, and of his attributes, excel as much in thought as in reality those in the noblest productions of heathen genius; but candid infidels will concede to us that they fall at least equally short of that contained in the Scriptures. It is well known that the New-Testament Greek would have been despised as a barbarous dialect by an Attic, or even an Alexandrian critic; and St. Paul expressly tells the Corinthians (1. ii. 4) that his speech "was not with enticing words of man's wisdom," in order that their faith should not stand in the wisdom of men; and (2. iv. 7) that "we have this treasure" (the glorious revelation of the Christian scheme of salvation) "in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be

of God, and not of us." And surely as the sun still shines, though partially shorn of his rays through a hazy medium, so this power will manifest itself through the imperfections and weakness of language; and its discoveries, which, if they had not been revealed, we could never have conceived, most satisfy the judgment and fix the affections. The Christian critic may fairly condemn the various repetitions of the Korán, and maintain the literary as well as the essential superiority of the Psalms and the Prophets. Occasional grandeur, and, it may be, sublimity, will be granted; but the pathetic is scarcely attempted. Mohammed does not excel in narrative: the Korán has nothing that resembles the moral teaching of the Prophets and the Apostles; and the tenderness that pervades our Lord's discourses, and is characteristic of Christian instruction, is altogether absent. The Deity of the Korán is indeed an almighty, just, and munificent sovereign, who will pardon the penitent sinner; but he is not the God of consolation, the Father of mercies, "our Father which is in heaven," who not only loves us as his creatures, but has adopted us as sons. The crescent,* which everywhere caught his eyes, was adopted by the conqueror of Constantinople as the symbol of his rising empire, and the Christian will not regret his choice, since it brings Islam into so just a comparison with the bright warming sun of Christianity. The comparison may fairly be transferred to the depositories of the two religions; for whatever excellence the Korán possesses is borrowed from the Bible. But reflected light does not carry with it the rays of heat,

> And the Moon
> Owes all her beauty to the night,
> And hides herself by day.
> We might upon her brightness gaze
> Till we were starved with cold.

* The Byzantines had impressed upon their coin the new moon, with the legend ΣΩΤ. "Saviour," because, unexpectedly shining out on a cloudy night, it saved their city from capture by Philip of Macedon. When Constantine included it within his capital he retained this symbol of the ancient inhabitants; and no doubt it recommended itself to Mohammed from its presumed magical power. —Pinkerton's Essay on Medals, vol. i. p. 241.

The Gospel, like the Sun at noon,
Affords a glorious light;
Then (Islam's cheerless) boasted Moon
Appears no longer bright.

And Grace, not light alone bestows,
But adds a quickening power;
The desert blossoms like the rose,
And sin prevails no more.

The Mohammedan, more consistent than too many Christians, is familiar with what he takes to be the word of God, and treats it with a reverence which degenerates into superstition; for he will not read it in a state of pollution, and writes upon its cover, "Let none touch it but those who are purified." The bigoted do not willingly see it in the hands of unbelievers, and think it dishonoured by being printed; but the Empress Catherine published several successive editions at Casan, for the use of her Tartar subjects. Moslems bestow upon it every possible ornament compatible with their rigid notions of propriety, not only employing writers eminent for caligraphy, but adorning the introductory pages and the headings of chapters with the brightest colours and with gold.* As a masterpiece of eloquence, they are not favourable to its translation, since it must in consequence lose so much of its attraction: still there are versions of it in Persian and Hindustani which are generally interlineary. And they do not, like Roman Catholics, object to its indiscriminate perusal. All who have any knowledge of the language read it; passages from it are introduced into their prayers, and add a dignity to ordinary conversation; and the title of حافظ "Rememberer," is given as one of honour to those who know it by heart. Sovereigns, as an act of devotion, have often transcribed the whole volume. The copies made by the Ottoman Sultans are kept in their sepulchral chapels, and that of the conqueror of Constantinople is still extant. Being excluded,

* There is a copy written in 957 H. (1550 A.D.) in the Bodleian Library, probably surpassed by none, presented to the University by the East-India Company, out of the library of Tippu Sultan.

from the representation of living beings, they impress verses from it on their coins, and, like the Jews, write them upon their doors; and the Arabic character becomes a beautiful substitution for paintings on the walls, as may be seen in the brilliant gilded apartments in the Alhambra palace of the sovereigns of Granada. Its recital on festivals and other occasions in public, by hired readers, is esteemed an act of piety, and this reverence exceeds all reasonable bounds, for it is used for the benefit of the dead as well as of the living, and it is, chiefly for the guidance of public reciters, divided into sixty portions, احزاب, from حزب, or into thirty sections اجزا from جز, each of which is subdivided into four.

The opening chapter, الفاتحة, consists of seven verses, and is used as often as the Lord's Prayer is by Christians. The latter, as we well know, commences with petitions for the worship of God, the extension of his reign, and as perfect an accomplishment of his will by man on earth as by the angels in heaven. Then comes the petition for sufficient food, followed by supplication for pardon, and for deliverance from temptation and from the evil spirit. The Mohammedan prayer is good as far as it goes; but the only petition is for direction in the right way—the way of those to whom God is gracious, of those with whom He is not angry, and of those who do not err; that is, according to the commentators, not the path of idolaters, or of Jews, or Christians.

The Korán is too often abused as a talisman, which equally benefits the possessor, whatever may be his moral or religious character. The whole is often written in a minute character, and, being put in a case, is hung round the neck; and certain passages are selected which are worn on the person, such as the 109th, 110th, and 112th chapters, the latter being an enlargement of the Creed, in opposition to Christianity. "Say God is one God; He is eternal; He does not beget, and He is not begotten, and like Him there is none." One is the verse called that of victory; another that of the throne, because it is said, that on its revelation the heavens were opened, and the throne of God was visible

to the Prophet, and I must not overlook the concluding chapter. Fourteen—the 7th, 13th, 16th, 17th, 19th, 22d, 26th, 27th, 32d, 38th, 41st, 53d, 84th, and 86th—require prostration when recited. We have it on the authority of Mohammed himself, in the Traditions, that the best for repeating in prayer are the 113th* and the 114th†. And to the sick, who were too weak to repeat even such short portions, he recommended the use of pious ejaculations; as, "God is most great!" and "There is no power or strength except from God!" "These words," replied a sufferer to whom they were addressed, "are for God's praise and glory, but do not suit me," on which the Prophet answered. "Say, 'O Lord, have mercy upon me, and give me daily bread.'"

The verse of the throne is regarded as the grandest

* 113.

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ ٱلْفَلَقِ مِنْ شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ وَمِنْ شَرِّ غَاسِقٍ إِذَا وَقَبَ
وَمِنْ شَرِّ ٱلنَّفَّاثَاتِ فِي ٱلْعُقَدِ وَمِنْ شَرِّ حَاسِدٍ إِذَا حَسَدَ

Say, I fly for refuge to the Lord of the day-break: from the evil which he hath created: and from the evil of the night when it cometh on: and from women who blow upon knots[1]: and from the envier when he envieth.

[1 An allusion to the custom of witches, known also in Europe, of tying knots in a cord and blowing on them, to weaken the person whom they chose to enchant. The commentators say that this and the following chapter were revealed to free Mohammed from the incantations of a Jew and his daughters. It is one of many instances that might be given of his superstition.]

† 114.

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ ٱلنَّاسِ مَلِكِ ٱلنَّاسِ إِلَهِ ٱلنَّاسِ مِنْ شَرِّ ٱلْوَسْوَاسِ ٱلْخَنَّاسِ
ٱلَّذِى يُوَسْوِسُ فِي صُدُورِ ٱلنَّاسِ مِنَ ٱلْجِنَّةِ وَٱلنَّاس

Say, I fly for refuge to the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men, from the evil of the suggesting (*devil*) whisperer, who whispers in the breasts of men, from the genii, and from men.

revelation; and of the chapters, the 1st is called the noblest, the 56th the most beautiful, and the Cow and the Family of Imram the bright ones. It is said that the 112th, on the unity of God, is worth a third of the Korán, and that its essence is the portion from the 49th to the last.

The following chronological arrangement is given by Weil, in his life of Mohammed from an ancient tradition:

REVEALED AT MECCA.

1.	The congealed blood,	العلق 96.
2.	The covered,	المدثر 74.
3.	Abu Laheb,	ابو لهب 111.
4.	The rending asunder,	الانشقاق 84.
5.	The most High,	ال اعلى 87.
6.	The night,	الليل 92.
7.	The daybreak,	الفجر 89.
8.	The brightness,	الضحى 93.
9.	The opening,	الشرح 94.
10.	The afternoon,	العصر 103.
11.	The courser,	العاديات 100.
12.	Alkauther,	الكوثر 108.
13.	The desire of multiplying,	التكاثر 102.
14.	Necessaries,	الماعون 107.
15.	The unbelievers,	الكافرين 109.
16.	The elephant,	الفيل 105.
17.	The daybreak,	الفلق 113.
18.	Men,	الناس 114.
19.	The declaration of the Unity,	التوحيد 112.
20.	The star,	النجم 53.
21.	He frowned,	عبس 80.
22.	Alkader,	القادر 97.

23. The sun,	الشمس	91.
24. Light,	النور	85.
25. The letter Caf,	ق	50.
26. The territory,	البلد	90.
27. The fig,	التين	95.
28. The Corish,	قريش	106.
29. The striking,	القارعة	101.
30. The resurrection,	القيامة	75.
31. The slanderers,	الهمزة	104.
32. The seat,	المرسلات	77.
33. The night-star,	الطارق	86.
34. The moon,	القمر	54.
35. The letter Sad,	ص	38.
36. The partition,	الاعراف	7.
37. The genii,	الجن	72.
38. The letters Ya and Sin,	يس	36.
39. The divider,	الفرقان	25.
40. The angels,	الملايكة	35.
41. The inner apartments,	الحجرات	49.
42. T and H,	طه	20.
43. The inevitable,	الواقعة	56.
44. The poets,	الشعرآء	26.
45. The ant,	النمل	27.
46. The tale,	القصص	28.
47. The night journey,	الاسرى	17.
48. Jonas,	يونس	10.
49. Hud,	هود	11.
50. Joseph,	يوسف	12.
51. Alhejer,	الحجر	15.

52. Cattle,	الانعم	6.
53. The ranks,	الصفات	37.
54. Lokman,	لقمان	31.
55. Sabah,	سبآء	34.
56. The troops,	الزمر	39.
57. The believer,	المومن	40.
58. Adoration,	السجدة	41.
59. The letters, or consultation,	الشورى	42
60. Ornaments,	الزخرف	43.
61. Smoke,	الدخان	44.
62. The kneeling,	الجاثية	45.
63. Alakhaf,	الاحقاف	46.
64. The dispersing,	الزاريات	51.
65. The overwhelming,	العاشية	88.
66. The cave,	الكهف	18.
67. Noah,	النوح	71.
68. The bee,	النحل	16.
69. Abraham,	ابرهيم	14.
70. The Prophets,	ال انبيآء	21.
71. The believers,	المؤمنين	23.
72. Adoration,	لسجوة	32.
73. Mount Tur,	الطور	52.
74. The kingdom,	الملك	67.
75. The confirmer,	الحاقة	69.
76. The steps,	المعارج	70.
77. The sent,	النازعات	78.
78. The messenger,	النباء	79.
79. The cleaving asunder,	الانفطام	82.
80. The rending,	الانشقاق	84.

81. The Greeks,	الروم	30.
82. The spider,	العنقبوط	29.
83. Those who give short measure,	المطففين	83.

REVEALED AT MEDINA.

84. The cow,	البقرة	2.
85. The spoils,	الانفال	8.
86. The family of Imram,	آل عمرام	3.
87. The confederates,	الاحزاب	33.
88. She who is tried,	الممتحنة	60.
89. Women,	النساء	4.
90. The earthquake,	الزلزلة	99.
91. Iron,	الحديد	57.
92. Victory,	الفتح	47.
93. Thunder,	الرعد	13.
94. The merciful,	الرحمن	55.
95. Man,	الانسان	76.
96. Divorce,	الطلاق	65.
97. The evidence,	البينة	98.
98. The emigration,	الحجر	59.
99. Assistance,	النصر	110.
100. Light,	النور	24.
101. The pilgrimage,	الحج	22.
102. The hypocrites,	المنافقين	63.
103. She who disputed,	المجادلة	58.
104. The inner apartments,	الحجرات	49.
105. Prohibition,	التحريم	66.
106. Battle array,	الصف	61.
107. The assembly,	الجمعة	62.

108. Mutual deceit,	التغابن	64.
109. Victory,	الفتح	48.
110. Repentance,	ال توبة	9.
111. The table,	المآئدة	5.

THE SONNAH (السُّنَّة), OR, TRADITION.

This authentic record, as it is affirmed, of the sayings and doings of the Prophet is the second basis on which Islam rests. The Korán is regarded as the actual word of God: the Sonnah as that of his inspired prophet. The first, consequently, is wholly divine; the second not in language, but in meaning. It is avowedly of equal, and practically of greater value, since example is more specific than precept and the believer, instead of deducing conclusions, has only to copy what he reads. "What an excellent aid to belief is the Sonnah!" says the Sonnah itself. It also gives us this tradition—"I have left you," says Mohammed, "two things in which it is impossible for you to err—the word of God and my Sonnah." He, however, occasionally contradicts himself, for he also said, "Do not write any thing from me except the Korán;" and when Omar asked if they should not, like the Jews, record traditions, he answered in anger, "Will you become confused like the Jews and Christians?" The authenticity of Traditions must always be open to suspicion, but competent judges determine that, speaking generally, we may depend upon them. During the lifetime of Mohammed his sayings were the ordinary subject of conversation; and after his death, many who had listened to him were settled in military cantonments, and, when peace allowed them leisure, amused themselves with the ancient poetry, and with reciting anecdotes of their idolized prophet. As his اصحاب (*companions*) died away, their طبيه (*followers*) had circles who gathered round them of persons whose employment it was to collect and compare these sayings: Abu Amr is reputed to have been in the habit of writing down whatever he heard from the Prophet, and was encouraged to persevere by his say-

ing, "Write, for, by God, nothing but truth comes from my mouth." On the accession of Omar the Second, at the end of the first century from the flight, there is said to have been living only one person who had heard Mohammed, and many also of the *followers* were no more. The Khalif therefore issued an order for collecting traditions, and it appears that most of the vast number had received, as it were, a stereotyped form previous to the beginning of the second century.

There are six collections of the Sonnite Traditions, and four of those of the Shiyahs. According to Dr. Sprenger, to whom I owe the substance of these remarks, there is in India a revival of the study of Mohammedan theology, and several of these collections have been lithographed at Dehli and Lucknow. These six are deemed canonical, and differ only in minute particulars. The earliest and most approved is that of Abu Abdallah, who passed sixteen years on his work at Mecca, and derived the epithet by which he is known from his birth in the distant city of Bokhara, in the neighbourhood of which he died in 256 H. His compilation is entitled جامع الصحيح (Jamaá Alsahih), "the faithful collection;" and he was so scrupulous, and regarded his occupation so entirely as a religious act, that he never wrote down a tradition without an ablution and a prayer which required bowings of worship. His collection consists of 7275 traditions, selected, during sixteen years examination, out of 600,000. This large number, according to Haji Khalfa, he reduced to 2000, by deducting repetitions; and scarcely half of those are doctrinal, the rest being instructions as to the concerns of life. Formerly they were only known by name; but Von Hammer has enabled us to form some judgment of them by a small, but no doubt judicious selection.* Their value of course depends upon their authenticity, and the collectors carefully record the names of all the persons who have transmitted them. Hottinger, in his Smegma Orientalis, gives the titles of all the sections of Bokhari's Sahih. The selection of Von Hammer is chiefly doctrinal, but we have an entire volume which is practical, giving

* Mines de l'Orient, tom. 1.

minute directions for all the particulars of the Mohammedan ritual, translated from Arabic into Persian, in the reign of Acbar. It was collected, A.D. 1239, by Hadi aldin Mahmud, and is entitled Mishkát almasábi مشكاة المصابيح (the niche for the lamps), and is a commentary on the Masabih alsonnah, "the Lamps of the Sonnah," compiled by Hosain ibn Mosud Ferah of Bagdad, who died in 1122; and was translated into English by Captain Matthews, and published in 1809. Of the 4484 traditions which it preserves, 2434 are authentic, that is, taken from the collections of the two Sheiks, Bokhari and Moslim, who died in 261. H., and is only second in authority to him. Each chapter is divided into three parts. The first gives the Traditions from these two primary collections: then follows those that are حسن Hosen, that is, generally approved; and the third contains an explanation.

As Christians are divided into Roman Catholics and Protestants, so are Mohammedans into Sonnites (Traditionists) and the followers of Ali, called by their opponents Shiyahs (Separatists). The Sonnites, however, form a vast majority, the latter being confined to Persia and India. They too, as we see, have also Traditions; but they do not seem to regard them as of equal authority with the Korán. It is remarkable that their attachment to the Traditions has not led the Sonnites to undervalue or neglect what they deem the word of God, and they seem to be better Moslems than their opponents, and not to have substituted, like so many of them, for its simple creed the mysticism of the Sufis.

The Korán ought to be compared, not with the New Testament, but with the Pentateuch, for the former is a law of liberty, supplying principles from which we deduce rules of ethics; while the latter is a code of polity as well as of religion, laying down what is to be done, as well as what is to be believed, requiring strict literal obedience, and never accommodating itself to circumstances. The Korán, accordingly, like the Pentateuch, is a guide for this life as well as for the next, the source of law as well as of divinity. This greatly enhances the difficulties of the Missionary; for in Mohammedan countries

there is not, as in Christendom, an union between Church and State, but the two are inseparably one, and must stand or fall together. He has, therefore, to contend with the prejudices and interests of both lawyers and divines, and the convert has not only to renounce his belief, but to change his whole course of life. To the candid inquirer, however, this amalgamation forms a strong suspicion of its human origin, and renders it unfit for an universal religion, which ought to be adapted alike to all climates and all modifications of society. The objection does not apply to the similar Mosaic system, because that was only a preparatory institution, designed to keep the Israelites, for a season, a distinct people, and ultimately to be superseded by Christianity. The marvellous spread of Islam could never have been contemplated by its author, and it shews the force and attraction of superstition that the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, inherited from the Pagan Arabs, should for centuries have brought believers from places so remote from his native city as Morocco and Dehli. Mohammedans reproach Christians with their divisions, but their prophet seems to have considered them creditable; for he is reported to have said, "The Magi are subdivided into seventy sects, the Jews into seventy-one, the Christians into seventy-two, and in my religion there will be seventy-three sects; but he added, that the members of all but one would be cast into hell. It seems incredible that so simple a creed, consisting of only two propositions—the unity of the Deity and the mission of Mohammed—should admit of any variety of opinions; but we shall find, on inquiry, that the disputes respecting the first are metaphysical, and belong to natural religion, and need not lead to divisions. These differences are divided into those that concern the *root* and those that concern the *branches:* the former are in the province of scholastic theology (الكلام), the latter in that of jurisprudence (الفقه). The opponents, in the former, treat each other as heretics; in the latter they agree to differ, and are arranged under four leaders; but they cannot be called sects, for they differ only in minute points of ritual observances,

are all considered orthodox, and have stations within the enclosure of the Caaba.

The author of the first was Abu Hanifah, who was born at Cufa in the eightieth year of the Hejra, and died in prison in Bagdad, because, from excessive modesty, he refused the office of judge, choosing rather to be punished by men than by God. His sect, called the followers of reason, in opposition to the others as followers of tradition, prevails chiefly in the Ottoman empire.

The second sect is that of Malek, who was born at Medina in A. H. 90, and died there in advanced age, and his decisions are accepted chiefly in Barbary.

The third is that of Alshafai, born in Palestine, but educated at Mecca, who died in Egypt in 204 H. He was much esteemed by Ebn Hanbal, author of the fourth sect, who was used to say he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body. He was so hostile to scholastic divinity, that he declared that whoever employed himself in that pursuit deserved to be affixed to a stake, and to be carried through Arabia, while a crier proclaimed "This is the reward of him who has left for this study that of the Korán and the Sonnah." He was a man of eminent piety, devoting a third of each night to prayer; and it was one of his sayings, that "whoever pretends to love both the world and his Creator is a liar."

The last sect is that of Ebn Hanbal, which prevails, like that of Alshafai, chiefly in Arabia, but is not numerous. Formerly they were so powerful, that in 325 H., in the Khalifat of Radhi, they were severely punished for their zeal in endeavouring to restore the austerity of primitive times by beating singing women and breaking their instruments, and by entering houses to spill wine. He had been imprisoned, as I have said, for refusing to acknowledge that the Korán had been created; and was so popular, that he is reported to have been followed to the grave by 800,000 men, which, though an exaggeration, may be taken as an evidence of his celebrity.

THE MOHAMMEDAN CONFESSION OF FAITH.

THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD.

The existence and the Unity of God the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things is the one grand dogma of Mohammed; and the Moslem confessions of faith enlarge upon the divine attributes in a manner which would be edifying, if they did not, in asserting the Unity, deny the Trinity. Mohammed, before he came forward as a prophet, had been deeply impressed with the absurdity and sin of idolatry, but the Korán shews that he had had some intercourse with Christians. Still he had never learnt to discriminate between three persons and three Gods, and the Trinity which he denounced was Tritheism, the worship of a Father, a Mother, and a Son, a doctrine never entertained by any considerable body, yet asserted, we are informed, by Eutychius and Almakin, by some at the Council of Nice. "Say not there are three Gods; abstain from this: it will be better for you; because God is but one God: far be it he should have a Son. To Him belongs what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. God is a sufficient protector. Christ does not proudly disdain to be a servant of God."* Such is the language of the Korán (IV. 169). And again, in another chapter (v. 125), "When God shall say, 'O Jesus, son of Mary, hast thou said to man, Take me and my mother for two Gods beside God, he shall answer, Praise be unto thee! It is not for me to say that which I ought not. If I had so said, surely thou wouldst have known it. Thou knowest what is in me, but I know not what is in thee, for thou art the knower of secrets. I have only spoken to them that which thou didst command, Worship God, my Lord and your Lord.' And (v. 82), "They surely are unbelieving who

* وَلَا تَقُولُوا ثَلَاثَةٌ ٱنتَهُوا خَيْرًا لَّكُمْ إِنَّمَا ٱللَّهُ إِلَٰهٌ وَاحِدٌ سُبْحَانَهُ أَن يَكُونَ لَهُ وَلَدٌ لَّهُ مَا فِي ٱلسَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ وَكَفَىٰ بِٱللَّهِ وَكِيلًا لَّن يَسْتَنكِفَ ٱلْمَسِيحُ أَن يَكُونَ عَبْدًا لِّلَّهِ

say God is the third of three, for there is no God beside one God."*

Mohammed's crude notions of Christianity must have been derived from the apocryphal gospels, or conversations with ignorant believers, for the frequent contradiction to the Scriptures in the Korán shew that he could not have read them; and if he had—though he might reasonably say to the polytheists of Mecca, "He is Lord of all creatures, he has no companion," رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ (XXXI. 13), and, as Lockman, admonishing his son, said, "Associate none with God, for associating is a great impiety," لَا تُشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ إِنَّ الشِّرْكَ لَظُلْمٌ عَظِيمٌ—he could not have comprehended Jews and Christians in the same condemnation. nor urge against them the arguments, that, upon this supposition, it would be impossible to account for the order of the universe, (XXI. 22.) "God has not begotten issue, nor is there any god with Him: otherwise, surely every other god had taken away that which He had created, and some of them would have exalted themselves above the others" (XXIII. 93). "He has taken no wife, neither hath He children" (LXXII. 2). And he assigns as a reason against this doctrine that He is self-sufficient. The Commentators understood Chistianity better, for Albeidhawi allows this statement to be erroneous, and says, that though such was the view of an obscure sect, the real Christian

* وَإِذْ قَالَ اللَّهُ يَا عِيسَى ابْنَ مَرْيَمَ أَأَنْتَ قُلْتَ لِلنَّاسِ اتَّخِذُونِي وَأُمِّيَ إِلَٰهَيْنِ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ قَالَ سُبْحَانَكَ مَا يَكُونُ لِي أَنْ أَقُولَ مَا لَيْسَ لِي بِحَقٍّ إِنْ كُنْتُ قُلْتُهُ فَقَدْ عَلِمْتَهُ تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي وَلَا أَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِكَ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ عَلَّامُ الْغُيُوبِ مَا قُلْتُ لَهُمْ إِلَّا مَا أَمَرْتَنِي بِهِ أَنِ اعْبُدُوا اللَّهَ رَبِّي وَرَبَّكُمْ وَكُنْتُ عَلَيْهِمْ شَهِيدًا مَا دُمْتُ فِيهِمْ فَلَمَّا تَوَفَّيْتَنِي كُنْتَ أَنْتَ الرَّقِيبَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَنْتَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ شَهِيدٌ لَقَدْ كَفَرَ الَّذِينَ قَالُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ ثَالِثُ ثَلَاثَةٍ وَمَا مِنْ إِلَٰهٍ إِلَّا إِلَٰهٌ وَاحِدٌ

doctrine is three persons in one God, and he explains the first as the Essence of the Deity; the second as Wisdom; and the third as Life. We must do the Korán the justice to observe, that this unity, on which it continually expatiates, is not a cold philosophical abstraction, but a living principle which pervades the volume; and it would be well if Christians imbibed as generally and as fully the spirit of their purer system, and were as well acquainted with their own Scriptures, as those who believe in the Korán as a divine revelation, and have shewn themselves so well entitled to their distinctive appellation of "the resigned." Resignation, indeed, to the past, or present, or future determination of the Governor of his creatures is the characteristic of Islam. Four phrases are continually in their mouths; and though they may sometimes be mere conventional phrases, history and the report of travellers prove that they are often the genuine language of the heart. ما شاء الله "It is what God has pleased," is the Moslem's exclamation on hearing distressing intelligence; إن شاء الله "If God please," is his aspiration when he refers to the future. He undertakes every thing in the name of God the merciful, the compassionate, باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم; and on its successful completion he returns thanks, الحمد لله "Praise be to God!"

For a full statement of this article of the Moslem creed I refer the reader to the exposition of the creed by Algazali, a celebrated scholastic divine, which may be found in Pococke's Specimen, with a Latin version, and has been translated into English by Okley; but most will be satisfied with the following summary abridged from the Turkish tract رسالة, of بركوي Berkevi, which has been frequently published at the Sultan's press at Scutari, and has been translated into French by Garcin de Tassy.

"It must be confessed that the most high God, who ought alone to be worshipped, has neither associate nor equal; and is subject to none of the wants and imperfections of human nature. He has not been born, and does not beget. He has no wife, son, or daughter. He is neither in heaven nor on earth, and has no home. He is invisible, without form, figure, or parts,

and is not subject to illness, grief, fear, or alteration.* His existence is from himself alone, and he is without beginning as without end, existing before the world, which he brought out of nothing. He has need of no one, and can do all things; If he pleased, he could in an instant annihilate the world, and again in an instant create it. He finds nothing difficult, and it is the same to him whether he form the smallest insect, or seven lions or seven earths. No one has authority over him, while he commands all beings; neither injured nor benefited by any. He knows whatever is in heaven or earth, whether published or secret, and at once, in general and in the minutest details; the past and the future, what is in the heart of man, and what he declares by his speech. His knowledge is from everlasting, and he is exempt from forgetfulness, negligence, and error. He hears alike the loudest and the most gentle sounds, and sees all things, even the walking in a dark night of a black ant on a black stone, and hears the treading of its feet, and this without eyes and ears. He does whatever he pleases, and whatever good or evil happens is by his permission. A little fly cannot move its wings without his leave; and if we did what he did not choose, it would prove his want of power; and if he willed he could make all men believers or unbelievers. It is necessary to believe that his power is eternal, and that he is able to do whatever can be imagined; to raise the dead, make a tree walk, and a stone speak; to annihilate and restore the heavens and the earth, and create thousands of new ones, even of gold and silver. He has the power of speech, but does not, as we do, use language, and he has spoken, without an intermediate agent, occasionally to his servants, as he spake to Moses, and to our prophet Mohammed the night of his ascension, and other nights; and to other men he speaks through Gabriel. The Korán is his eternal and uncreated word. He is the Mover as well as the Creator, causing the movements of animals and the actions of men; and is the author of good and of evil, of faith and of unbelief. It is he who sends illness and gives health, who

* This reminds the Latin scholar of the line of Boethius, of which Berkewi could never have heard:

"Stabilisque manens dat caneta movero."

sustains life and causes death. God ordinarily causes us to burn on touching the fire, or feel cold on touching snow, but the fire does not burn of itself, or the snow chill; the Almighty alone produces these effects. In a word, all is effected by God."

The Deity is said to have a hundred names, but, properly speaking, they are ninety-nine epithets which the devout repeat, and close with his peculiar designation, Allah. To facilitate this repetition, they, like the Roman Catholics, use a rosary. The latter ascribe the invention to Dominic, the founder of the Black Friars, and the originater of the Inquisition, but the Crusaders probably borrowed it from their opponents, who, it is thought, received it from the Buddhists. We have three lists of them, one in the Miskkat, a second published by Hottinger, in his Historia Orientalis (II. 3), and a third by Von Hammer, from a talisman, which I transcribe.

THE NAMES OF THE DEITY.

The Merciful,	الرحمن	1	The Bestower,	الرازق	17
The Compassionate,	الرحيم	2	The Opener,	الفتاح	18
The King,	الملك	3	The Wise,	العليم	19
The Most Holy,	القدوس	4	The Comprehender,	القابض	20
Peace,	السلام	5	The Expander,	الباسط	21
The Faithful,	المومن	6	The Depresser,	الخافض	22
The Protector,	المهن	7	The Exalter,	الرافع	23
The Excellent,	العزيز	8	The Strengthener,	المعتز	24
The Powerful,	الجبار	9	The Lowerer,	المذل	25
He who exalts himself,	المتكبر	10	The Hearer,	البصير	26
The Creator,	الخالق	11	The Seer,	البصير	27
The Creator,	البارى	12	The Judge,	الحاكم	28
The Former,	المعنور	13	The Just,	العدل	29
The Pardoner,	الغفار	14	The Benignant,	اللطيف	30
The Powerful,	القهار	15	The Informer,	الخبير	31
The Giver,	الوحاب	16	The Great,	العظيم	32

The Pardoner,	الغفور	33	The Self-subsisting,	القيوم	62
The Rewarder,	الشكور	34	The Finder,	الواجد	63
The High,	العلى	35	The Glorious,	الماجد	64
The Great,	الكبير	36	The Unique,	الوحد	65
The Rememberer,	الحافظ	37	The Eternal,	الصمد	66
The Powerful,	المقيط	38	The Powerful,	القادر	67
The Satisfier,	الحسيب	39	The Prevailing,	المقتدر	68
The Glorious,	الجليل	40	The Leader,	المقدم	69
The Liberal,	الكريم	41	The Finisher,	المؤخر	70
The Guardian,	الرقيب	42	The Beginner,	الاول	71
The Answerer,	المجيب	43	The Eternal,	الازلى	72
The All-embracing,	الوسع	44	The Everlasting,	الايدى	73
The Wise,	الحكيم	45	The Innermost,	الباطن	74
The All-loving,	الودود	46	The Revealer,	الظاهر	75
The Glorious,	المجيد	47	The Governor,	الوالى	76
The Provider,	الباعث	48	The Pure,	البرّ	77
The Witness,	الشهيد	49	The Propitious,	التواب	78
The True,	الحق	50	The Pardoner,	العفوّ	79
The Provider,	الوكيل	51	The Avenger,	المنتقم	80
The Strong,	القوى	52	The Merciful,	الرؤف	81
The Firm,	المتين	53	The King of the kingdom,	مالك الملك	82
The Friend,	الولى	54			
The Praiseworthy,	الحميد	55	The Lord of Glory and Honour,	ذو الجلال و الاكرام	83
The Beginner,	المبدى	56			
The Reckoner,	المحصرى	57			
The Restorer,	المعيد	58	The Equitable,	المقسط	84
The Life-giver,	المحى	59	The Assembler,	الجامع	85
The Destroyer,	الميت	60	The Rich,	الغنى	86
The Living,	الحى	61	The Enricher,	المغنى	87

The Possessor,	المولى	88	The Creator,	البديع	94
The Prohibitor,	المانع	89	The Observer,	الباقى	95
The Afflictor,	الضاهر	90	The Inheritor,	الوارث	96
The Benefactor,	النافع	91	The Director,	الرشيد	97
The Light,	النور	92	The Patient,	الصبرر	98
The Guide,	الهادى	93	The Mild,	الحليم	99

On comparison these lists will be found to differ, the epithets in one being sometimes changed in the others for equivalent words. Many appear to us synonymous, but the Mohammedan theologians discover in them shades of difference: thus, Beidawi makes الرحمن "Alrahman," more comprehensive than الرحيم "Alrahim," the first expressing God's compassion to all men, the latter his mercy to believers. The first, therefore, refers to the present life, the second to the future. In the same manner a distinction is made between غفار and غفور, (pardoning,) and قايم and قيوم, (subsisting). In none are these titles arranged in a philosophical order.

The Korán never loses sight of the doctrine of Predestination; and Mohammedan authors, both in prose and verse, may be said to vie with each other in exalting the sovereignty of God. In the language of Algazali, "He wills whatever exists, and determines whatever happens, and there is nothing that occurs, great or small, good or evil, faith or unbelief, knowledge or ignorance, success or failure, increase or decrease, obedience or rebellion, unless by his decree, power, knowledge, or will. He has also willed that whatever he willed should happen in its own proper season, neither before nor after." It is difficult even for the most cautious person to express the sovereignty of the Supreme Being, without incurring the charge of making him the author of sin; and the predestination of the Korán and the personal election of the Bible have been rejected by many as incompatible with the divine perfection. The advocates of both, however, disclaim the odious and revolting consequences drawn from them by their opponents; and it is only justice in

those to accept their conclusions who cannot acquiesce in their reasoning. The Turkish Confession of Faith thus endeavours to guard the doctrine from abuse—"Unbelief and wicked acts happen with the foreknowledge and will of God, by the effect of his predestination, written from eternity on the preserved table, by his operation, but not with his satisfaction. God foresees, wills, produces, loves, all that is good, and does not love unbelief and sin, though he wills and effects it. If it be asked why God wills and effects what is evil, and gives the devil power to tempt man, the answer is, He has his views of wisdom, which it is not granted to us to know. No one ought to inquire, for He alone has the right to put such questions: we must believe that both good and evil happen by God's predestination, will, and operation." Such questions arise out of natural theology, and equally perplex the Christian and the Moslem. The subject was even discussed among the followers of Mohammed, but he did not profess to settle it, and discouraged the inquiry. Thus, Ayesha tells us, in the Traditions, that she heard the Prophet of God say, "Whoever shall speak about predestination will be interrogated on the day of the resurrection," and he who does not talk about it, will not." Another tradition is, that finding some of his followers engaged in such a discussion, he was so angry that he grew red in the face, and said, "Has God ordered you to debate on predestination, or was I sent to you for this? Your ancestors were destroyed for such debates. I adjure you not to argue on these points."

The simplicity of the Moslem creed might seem to secure it from corruption, and it appears to have remained accepted, and not investigated till after the decease of all the companions of the Prophet. They had been engaged in propagating their faith, not by argument, but with the sword, and their only discussion had been concerning the practical question who was their prophet's legitimate successor. In process of time, however, subtle questions were started respecting the divine attributes and decrees, and the study of these abstruse subjects was much promoted by the translations of the works of the Greek philosophers, encouraged by the Khalif Almamun.

These high metaphysical speculations were, as I have remarked, condemned by Alshafai in the strongest terms, and Gazali only acquiesces in the pursuit as an evil rendered necessary by the prevalence of heresy.

The Physician and Jacobite Primate, Abulfaraj, and the Mohammedan historian of sects, Al Sharastani, agree in reducing these metaphysical speculations to four leading divisions, which I shall merely enumerate.

The first concerns the attributes الصفات and the unity التوحيد of the Deity; the second, predestination القضاء, and القادر the divine decree; the third, God's promises الوعد, and threats الوعيد; and the fourth, النبوة prophecy, and الامامة the office of Imam, or successor of their prophet.

1. المتعزلة the Motazalists, or Separatists, so called because they separated from the orthodox, are said to have as many as twenty subdivisions; but all agree in excluding eternal attributes from the divine essence, الصفات القديمة, saying that the most high God knows not by knowledge, but by his essence; and they were led to this subtle distinction by the belief that their opponents, the Attributists, الصفاتية, gave these attributes an actual existence; thus making them so many gods. Their object was to avoid the Christian doctrine of Persons (اقانيم) in the divine Essence: and it is remarkable that one of their number, Ahmed ben Hayet, asserted that the Messiah had a real body, and was, as the Christians affirmed, الكلمة القديمة the eternal word. He maintained that there were two Gods, the Supreme Eternal Being, and the second محدث the new, that is, the created one, the Messiah. They also maintained the creation of the Korán; and some of them declared that its composition was no miracle, since it might be surpassed in eloquence. Some of the Attributists went so far in describing God's hearing and speaking as to assert his corporeality, and to take literally such personal acts as sitting on his throne.

The opponents of the divine decrees are called Kaderites, because they maintain that man has power (القادر) to do good

or evil, and consequently to merit reward or punishment. Their opponents have the name of Jaberites, from جبر Jaber, "compulsion," their doctrine being that man is constrained by the divine decree, which is immutable. Some, however, of these take a middle course, attributing to man a concurrence in producing actions. This is technically called Acquisition, (الكسب), that is, an action directed to the obtaining of profit, or the removing of injury; and therefore a term inapplicable to the Deity.

الارجا, from which المرجية Almorjeyites is derived, is equivalent to التاخير, that is, postponement, and they may be so called because they postpone works to designs, العلل, that is, consider them less meritorious, or because transgressions will not injure a believer, nor obedience profit an unbeliever, or from their postponing the sentence of sinners till the last day. Their opponents, الوعيد the Waaidites, the maintainers of the divine threatenings, treat all grievous sinners as deserters of the faith, who, notwithstanding their orthodoxy, will remain for ever in hell, though they will suffer less than unbelievers. Some of these, however, believe, that after sufficient punishment they will be admitted into Paradise.

The fourth division is a practical one, concerning the office of Imam, or head of religion. The Kharejites, or revolters, were originally those who withdrew from Ali, and maintain that the Imam need not be of the tribe of Koreish, nor even a freeman, provided he be just, and qualified. They maintain, too, that, if unfit, he may be deposed, and that the office itself is not indispensable. The followers of Ali, of course, regard all the preceding Imams as intruders; and some of them carried their veneration to a blasphemous excess, acknowledging him as an incarnation of the Deity.

The Korán says, (IV. 135) that "Whosoever believeth not in God and his angels, and his scriptures, and his messengers, errs in an extreme error;" and, in consequence, the Moslem Doctors include under the Unity of the Deity all these as articles of faith.

CONCERNING ANGELS.

A MOSLEM is required to believe, in opposition to the Pagan Arabs, who called the Angels the daughters of God, that they have no sexual distinction, and that their subtle bodies, made of fire, are not sustained by food. They are described as his servants, and are engaged either in worship or the performance of his high behests. They carry his throne, they preside over hell, or are employed in the providential government of the world. Thus it is declared, that thousands of them that really gained for the Prophet the victory of Bedr (VIII.), though his little army fought valiantly against a superior force, "And ye slew not these, but God slew them; neither didst thou cast (the gravel into their eyes) when thou didst cast it, for God cast it, that he might try the true believers by a gracious triumph from himself." Two of them, who are changed daily, are assigned to every man, to record his good and bad actions. Men are required to love them, though they have no personal knowledge of them. The most eminent are, Gabriel, whom, like many of the Jews, they confound with the Holy Ghost, and call the Angel of Revelation, his special mission being to bring down the Korán, and he is said to be so awful in his colossal size, that he generally appeared under a human form; Michael, the patron of the Jews, who fights against God's enemies; Azrael the Angel of Death; and Israfil, who, on the resurrection-day, will blow the trumpet which will awaken the dead. These four fill the same offices in the apocryphal gospel of Barnabas; and the two not named in the Scriptures Mohammed borrowed from the Jews, who had learned them from the Magi. Mohammedans have been taught the history of the fallen angels; and the Korán, wise beyond what is written, ascribes it to the envy of Satan, who was cast down from heaven for refusing to worship (that is, probably, to do homage to) Adam, and obtained in consequence the name of Iblis (ابليس), which

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The Korán says, (IV. 135) that "Whosoever believeth not in God and his angels, and his scriptures, and his messengers, errs in an extreme error;" and, in consequence, the Moslem Doctors include under the Unity of the Deity all these as articles of faith.

CONCERNING ANGELS.

A MOSLEM is required to believe, in opposition to the Pagan Arabs, who called the Angels the daughters of God, that they have no sexual distinction, and that their subtle bodies, made of fire, are not sustained by food. They are described as his servants, and are engaged either in worship or the performance of his high behests. They carry his throne, they preside over hell, or are employed in the providential government of the world. Thus it is declared, that thousands of them that really gained for the Prophet the victory of Bedr (VIII.), though his little army fought valiantly against a superior force, "And ye slew not these, but God slew them; neither didst thou cast (the gravel into their eyes) when thou didst cast it, for God cast it, that he might try the true believers by a gracious triumph from himself." Two of them, who are changed daily, are assigned to every man, to record his good and bad actions. Men are required to love them, though they have no personal knowledge of them. The most eminent are, Gabriel, whom, like many of the Jews, they confound with the Holy Ghost, and call the Angel of Revelation, his special mission being to bring down the Korán, and he is said to be so awful in his colossal size, that he generally appeared under a human form; Michael, the patron of the Jews, who fights against God's enemies; Azrael the Angel of Death; and Israfil, who, on the resurrection-day, will blow the trumpet which will awaken the dead. These four fill the same offices in the apocryphal gospel of Barnabas; and the two not named in the Scriptures Mohammed borrowed from the Jews, who had learned them from the Magi. Mohammedans have been taught the history of the fallen angels; and the Korán, wise beyond what is written, ascribes it to the envy of Satan, who was cast down from heaven for refusing to worship (that is, probably, to do homage to) Adam, and obtained in consequence the name of Iblis (ابليس), which

paradise will receive clothes, and, during the trial of the wicked, will surround the throne of God. The scene is thus described in Algazali's creed:—"He shall also believe in the balance wherein, with the weights of atoms and mustard seeds, works will be weighed with the utmost exactness. Then the books of the good works, beautiful to behold, will be cast into the scale of light, by which the balance shall be depressed according to their degrees with God, out of the favour of God and the books of evil deeds into the scale of darkness, by which the balance shall lightly ascend, by the justice of the most High. It must also be believed that there is a real way extended over the middle of hell, sharper than a sword, and finer than a hair, on which, by the divine decree, the feet of unbelievers shall slip, so that they shall fall into the fire, while the feet of believers will remain firm on it, and they will be led into an habitation that will last. It must also be believed that the faithful will then drink out of Mohammed's lake, which will prevent their thirsting any more. Its breadth is a month's journey, and the water is whiter than milk and sweeter than honey: the cups placed round are as numerous as the stars, and it is supplied by two pipes from the river Cauther, كوثر. Men must also believe in the final reckoning which will be strict with some, with others more indulgent, while they who are near to God will enter the garden without any. Then God will question any of his prophets whom he pleases concerning his mission, and whom he pleases of the unbelievers the reason of their accusing as liars those who were sent to them. He will also interrogate heretics concerning the Sonnah, and the Moslems concerning their works. It must also be believed that all professors of the divine Unity, after adequate punishment, shall be released from the fire for ever. Another article of faith is the intercession, first of the prophets, then of the oulema (the learned), then of the martyrs, then of the rest of the believers, every one in proportion to his excellence and rank; and if any should remain without an intercessor, he shall be saved through the excellence of God; for

no one shall remain for ever in hell who has but as much faith in his heart as the weight of an atom."

Hell is divided into seven compartments. The first is appropriated to unworthy Moslems, but since to the worst it is only a temporary abode, it ought to have been called purgatory; the second is for Jews; the third for Christians; the fourth for the Sabians; the fifth for the Magians; the sixth for the idolaters; and the last and lowest for the hypocrites who professed, without believing it, some religion. If Dante could have read the Korán and the Traditions, he would have found many of his inventions anticipated, and might have discovered tortures not imagined by him. He would have read of the vicissitudes of intense heat and extreme cold; of unbelievers having garments of fire fitted to them; of boiling water poured over their heads; and of their being beaten with iron maces, and being dragged back and mocked by their tormentors saying to them, "Taste ye the pain of burning" (XXII). Their food will be of a tree which is called زقّوم (Zacum), after a thorny Arabian tree of that name with bitter fruit, but this is also hideous to behold as the heads of devils (XXXVII), and its fruit shall mock them. They will be shod with fiery shoes, and will in vain entreat the blessed to refresh them by pouring water on their burning heads. The sensual paradise with which Mohammed attracts his followers is proverbial. He evidently delights in expatiating upon its minute particulars and contrasts with his own dry, sandy, native land, the gardens through which rivers flow abounding with palm-trees and pomegranates, where the believers will taste of whatever fruit they desire, which they may gather from the branches which will bend towards them while reclining not only under the shade, but on silk couches, themselves clothed in green silk and brocades, and adorned with bracelets of gold and pearl. They are to drink of the liquor forbidden in this life, but this wine will never intoxicate or make the head ache; it will be sealed, not with clay, but with musk, and diluted with water from the spring Tasnim, and this shall be served to them in cups of silver by beautiful youths. But their highest enjoyment

will be derived from the company of damsels created for the purpose out of pure musk, called حوري (Houris), from the brightness of their eyes (K. XLVII. LV.). Such will be the perpetual sensual enjoyments of all who are admitted into paradise; but for those who have attained the highest degree of excellence it is said, in language borrowed from the genuine Scriptures, that for them are prepared, in addition, such joys as eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man to conceive. This addition is said to be the beatific vision, and many of the more respectable Moslems endeavour to explain away and spiritualize the sensual delights, of their prophet's paradise; Algazali considers the attempt heretical, and Mohammed himself seems to have intended his words to have been taken literally. It is still the common faith of his people; and we read, in an early native history* of the conquest of Syria, of a voluntary martyr, who, longing after these joys, charged the Christian troops, and make havock till struck through with a javelin, he exclaimed, "Methinks, I see looking upon me the houris, the sight of one of whom, would cause all men to die of love; and one with an handkerchief of green silk and a cup made of precious stones, beckons me, and calls me, 'Come hither quickly, for I love thee.'" Such was the spirit that led the first Moslems to victory, and it is still the popular belief.

الدين PRACTICAL RELIGION

resolves itself into four duties: 1. Prayer; 2. Alms; 3. Fasting; and 4. Pilgrimage.

PRAYER.

Bodily cleanliness, both for its own sake, and as symbolical of inward purity, is strongly inculcated in all oriental religions; and the Moslem Traditions specify the several causes of ceremonial pollution, and contain minute directions respecting

* Ockley's "History of the Saracens," Vol. I. p. 170.

الغسل bathing, and partial ablution, وضو The prophet is recorded to have said, "Ablution is the half of prayer," and as its indispensible preparation, it naturally falls under that head. It would be tedious and unprofitable, in a treatise like the present, to consider the subject at length: I will only, as a sample, copy the most approved mode of performing the morning ablutions from the graphic and interesting picture of Moslem life exhibited in Lane's "Modern Egyptians."

"Prayer is the key of Paradise, but it will only be accepted from persons bodily clean. The believer first washes his hands three times, saying, "In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate: Praise be to God, who hath sent down water for purification, and hath made Islam a light, and a conductor, and a guide to thy gardens—the gardens of delight, and to thy mansion, the mansion of peace." Then, rinsing his mouth thrice, he says, "O God, assist me in reading the Book, and in commemorating thee, and in thanking thee, and in worshipping thee well." Then thrice he throws water up his nostrils, saying, "O God, make me to smell the odours of Paradise, and bless me with its delights, and make me not to smell the smell of the fires [of hell]." Then he proceeds to wash his face three times, saying, "O God, whiten my face with thy light on the day when thou shalt whiten the face of thy favourites, and do not blacken my face on the day when thou shalt blacken the faces of thine enemies." His right hand and arm, up to the elbow, are washed next thrice, with the prayer, "O God, give me my book in my right hand, and reckon with me with an easy reckoning."

The allusion is to a book in which all his actions are recorded: that of the just is to be placed in his right hand, that of the wicked in his left, which will be tied behind his back; and when he proceeds to his left hand he says, "O God, give me not my book in my left hand, nor behind my back, and do not reckon with me with a difficult reckoning, nor make me to be one of the people of fire." His head he washes but once, accompanying the action with this petition, "O God, cover me with thy mercy, and pour down thy blessing upon

me, and shade me under the shadow of thy company on the day when there shall be no other shade." Putting into his ears the tips of his forefingers, he is to say, "O God, make me to be one of those who hear what is said, and obey what is best," or, "O God, make me to hear good." Wiping his neck with his fingers, he says, "O God, free my neck from the fire, and keep me from chains, collars, and fetters." Lastly, he washes his feet, saying, first, "O God, make firm my feet upon Sirat on the day when my feet shall slip on it;" and, secondly, "Make my labour to be approved, and my sin forgiven, and my works accepted, merchandize that shall not perish, through thy pardon, O Mighty One, O most forgiving through thy mercy, O Thou most merciful of those who shew mercy." Having completed the ablution, he continues, looking up to heaven, "Thy perfection, O God, I extol with thy praise; I testify there is no God but thee alone. Thou hast no companion. I implore thy forgiveness, and turn to thee with repentance." Then, looking down to the earth, he adds the Creed, and should recite, once at least, the chapter on Power (XCVII). These instructions remind one of the acts of devotion of Roman Catholics, and of some of the more formal of our early divines, and would seem to require some time; but he who furnished them, and has had frequent opportunities of seeing them performed, assures us that they are almost all omitted by the generality of worshippers, and that with such the whole ceremony is accomplished within two minutes.

When water cannot be procured, or its use is injurious to the health, sand may be substituted. Their theologians inform us that Gabriel, on his first appearance to the prophet in the cave, taught him the prayers and the ablutions, for which purpose he caused a spring to gush forth. These partial or total washings, for the removal of legal impurity, being a requisite preliminary, the courts of the mosques are supplied with water. Purity of the dress, as well as of the person, is required, and the worshipper must also lay aside any magnificent robe or ornaments, and appear before God as becomes the humility of a creature and of a sinner. The carpet, also, which a service

comprehending both sitting and prostration requires, must also be clean, but place is indifferent, so that Moslems consider prayer as acceptable at home as in the mosque; and, indeed, its frequent recurrence would render the necessity of offering it up in any specified locality an intolerable burden. The mosques, therefore, on week-days, are chiefly frequented by the poor, for the sake of using the mats; but congregational worship was pronounced by the prophet to be preferable to solitary, and he set apart Friday as the day of assembling جماع Jamaâ, in distinction from Jews and Christians; and the reasons he assigned were, that it is the day on which Adam was created, and on which men shall be judged. The service is the same as on other days, with the addition of the خطبة Khotbeh, a prayer which Mohammed himself was accustomed to recite, and in which example he was followed by his successors. It consists of two parts. The first is appropriated to the Deity, the prophets, the first four Khalifs, and their contemporaries. The second includes the prayer for the reigning sovereign, and I transcribe from D'Ohson,* the form in use in Turkey.

"Thanks be to the Most High, that supreme and immortal Being who has neither wife nor children, nor equal on earth, or in the heavens; who favours acts of compunction in his servants, and pardons their iniquities. We believe, we confess, we bear witness, that there is no God but God alone, the sole God, who admits no association. Happy belief, to which is attached heavenly blessedness. We also believe in our Lord, our support, our master, Mohammed, his servant, his friend, his prophet, who has been directed in the true way, favoured by divine oracles, and distinguished by marvellous works. May the divine blessing be on him, on his posterity, on his wives, on his disciples, on the orthodox Khalifs endowed with doctrine, virtue, and sanctity, and on the viziers of his age, particularly on the Imam, the true Khalif of God's prophet, the prince of believers, Abubekr, the pious certifier, pleasing to the Eternal; on the Imam, the true Khalif of God's prophet, the prince of believers, Omar, the pure discriminator, pleasing to God; on the Imam, &c., Othman, the possessor of

* Tableau de l'Empire Otheman.

the two lights, &c.; on, &c., Ali, the generous, the upright, pleasing to God; on the two great Imams, perfect in virtue and doctrine, distinguished in knowledge and in works, illustrious in race and in nobility, resigned to the will of God, and the decrees of destiny, patient in reverses and misfortunes; the princes of the heavenly youth, the pupils of the eyes of the faithful, the lords of true believers, Hassan and Hosein, pleasing to God, to whom may all be equally pleasing. O ye Assistants, O ye faithful, fear God, and submit to Him. Omar, pleasing to God, has said, 'The prophet of God pronounced these words, Let there be no actions but those founded on good intentions. The prophet of God is truthful in what he said. He is truthful in what he said. Ali, the friend of God, and the minister of the heavenly oracles, said, 'Know that the best word is the Word of God, most powerful, most merciful, most compassionate. Hear his holy commandment. When you hear the Korán, listen to it with respect and in silence, for it will be made to you piety. I take refuge with God from the stoned devil. In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate, in truth good deeds efface bad ones.'"

Here the preacher repeats several verses of the Korán, to which the muezzins chaunt, Amen. He then commences the second Khotbeh.

"In honour to His prophet, and for distinction to his pure soul, this high and great God, whose word is an order and a command, has said, 'Certainly God and His angels bless the prophet.' Bless him, ye believers, address to him pure and sincere salutations. O God, bless Mohammed, the Emir of Emirs, the chief of the prophets, who is perfect, accomplished, endowed with eminent qualities, the glory of the human race, our lord, and the lord of both worlds, of temporal and of eternal life. O ye who are enamoured of his beauty, and of his fame, address to him pure and sincere salutations. Bless, O God, Mohammed, and the posterity of Mohammed, as thou hast blessed Abraham, and the posterity of Abraham. Certainly thou art adorable, thou art great: sanctify Mohammed, and the posterity of Mohammed, as thou hast sanctified Abraham, and the posterity of Abraham. Certainly thou art adora-

ble, thou art great. O God, have pity on the orthodox Khalifs, distinguished by doctrine, virtue, and heavenly gifts, with which thou hast laden those who have acted with truth and justice. O God, assist, sustain, and defend thy servant, the greatest of Sultans, the most eminent of Khalifs, the king of Arabs, and Ajene,* the servant of the two holy cities, Sultan, son of a Sultan, Sultan ——, whose khalifat may the Supreme Being make eternal, and perpetual his empire and power, Amen. O God, exalt those who exalt religion, and lower those who lower religion. Protect the Moslem soldiers, the orthodox armies, and grant us health, tranquillity, prosperity; to us, to pilgrims, to the military, to citizens, as well to those at home as to those who travel by land and sea: finally, to the whole Moslem people. Health to all the prophets, and all the heavenly messengers. Eternal praises to God, the Creator and Governor of the universe. Certainly God commands equity and benevolence; he commands and recommends the care of our relations; he prohibits, unlawful things, sins, prevarications. He counsels you to obey his precepts, and to keep them carefully in your memory."

A Khotbeh, substantially the same used on the first Friday after the new year, may be found in Lane's work. Besides the benediction on the prophet, his four successors, and the two sons of Ali, a blessing is invoked on their mother, Fatimah, and grandmother, Khadijah; Ayesha, the mother of the faithful, and the rest of the prophet's pure wives; on the six who remained of the ten noble and just persons who swore allegiance under the tree, Talha, Alzobier, Saad, Said, Abdulrahman, Ibn Auf, and all the Companions, and the two succeeding generations. This prayer, and frequently a moral discourse, is delivered from the pulpit by the khatib, who holds a wooden sword reversed, a custom said to be peculiar to the cities taken from the unbelievers; yet, if so, it is unsuitable to Cairo, Bagdad, and other cities of Mohammedan foundation. There is a niche in the wall (محراب) which marks the position of Mecca, but of course there is no altar, and there are no other decoration than lamps and ostrich eggs suspended, and

* A term peculiarly appropriated to the Persians, but here to be taken for all other nations.

appropriate verses from the Korán written on the walls. The congregation, without any distinction of rank, arrange themselves round the Imam, who is a guide to them in the performance of the nine attitudes of prayer, which are no less requisite than the recitations. These postures resolve into four: 1, standing, قيام, kayam; 2. bowing, ركعة, racaât; 3. prostration or adoration, سجود, sajud; and 4. sitting, قعود, kaâud; which were not introduced by Mohammed, but had long prevailed, and been used in the presence of earthly sovereigns, as appears from the Bible, and other ancient works, and from the Egyptian hieroglyphics. These attitudes commence with 1, reverential standing, the worshipper then bows; 2, then stands again; 3, then prostrates himself; 4, next sits; 5, prostrates himself again; 6, stands; and 7, closes with sitting.

According to a tradition, Mohammed, in his nightly conference with the Deity, was commanded to impose upon his disciples the daily obligation of fifty prayers. By the advice of Moses he solicited an alleviation of this duty, and obtained a gradual reduction to five, which are indispensable. The hours are, 1, day-break; 2, noon; 3, afternoon; 4, evening; and 5, the first watch of the night.

The Moslem casuists distinguish between الفرض Alfardh, what is of divine authority, being commanded in the book, and السنة, Alsonnat, what is of canonical obligation. The performance of the first is meritorious, and its neglect sinful. The performance of the second is also meritorious, but may be omitted with impunity. These prayers are of divine obligation. Adam is said to have introduced the first prayer, Abraham the second, Jonah the third, Jesus the fourth, and Moses the fifth. The worshipper, raising his open hands, and touching with the ends of his thumbs the lobes of his ears, repeats the تكبير, Tacbir, that is, الله اكبر, Allah Akbar, "God is most great." Still standing, and placing his hands before him, a little below the girdle, the left within the right, he recites the opening chapter of the Korán, and a few verses from any other which he pleases: he often chooses the 112th. He then, after having said, "God

is most great," seats himself on his carpet, on his knees, and recites thrice (I extol) the perfections of my Lord the great; adding, "May God hear him who praiseth him. Our Lord, praise be unto thee." Then, raising his head and body, "God is most great." He next drops gently upon his knees, repeating, "God is most great," puts his nose and forehead to the ground between his hands, during which prostration he exclaims thrice, "The perfections of my Lord the most high." Then, raising his head and body, sinking backwards on his heels, and placing his hands on his thighs, he says again, "God is most high," which he repeats on a second prostration; and, again rising, utters the Tacbir. This ceremony is called one racaât (ركعة). He rises on his feet, and goes through it a second time, only varying the portion of the Korán after the opening chapter. After the last racaât of all the prayers, he says, "Praises belong to God, and prayer, and good works. Peace be on thee, O prophet, and the mercy of God, and his blessing! Peace be on us and on the righteous worshippers of God." He then recites the Creed. Before the salutations in the final prayer, the worshipper may offer up any short petition for himself or friends, and it is considered better to word it in Koránic language than in his own. If devoutly disposed, he may add this supererogatory service, the recitation of the Throne verse (Korán xi. 256). He may then repeat the perfections of God thirty-three times, and "Praise to Him for ever" once, with "Praise be to God, extolled be his dignity for ever!" thirty-three times; then the same number of times, "There is no God but He; God is most great;" then, "God is most great in greatness, and praise abundant be to God!" In those repetitions he finds his rosary, which has a mark after the thirty-third bead, very convenient to prevent his praying too little or too much. Any wandering of the eye, or inattention, must be strictly avoided; and if interrupted, except unavoidably, the worshipper must begin again. As thus described, the service seems long; but Lane, who must have often witnessed it, says that the time it occupies is under five minutes, if restricted to what is indispensable, and that the supererogatory

addition will take up about as much more. Should a season of prayer surprise them at a meal, they may postpone it till they have finished. The muezzins remind them of this duty in a loud voice from a tower of the mosques, which has obtained the name of مِنارة minaret, a light bearer, from its similarity in its proportions to a candlestick. They intermix several times the Creed and the praises of God; admonishing Moslems in the morning that prayer is better than sleep, and making a longer address twice in the night, when he calls the few who are so disposed to an act of voluntary devotion. At the last he enlarges in commendation of the prophet, the seal of God's apostles, and invoking a blessing upon his family, specifying by name his grandson. In Egypt this call ends with a blessing on Abu Faraj Sheikh of the Arabs, and are all the favourites of God. This local saint, who is buried in the Delta, has the reputation of obtaining the divine favour for those who visit his tomb, and seek his intercession. A nazir, or warden, presides over each mosque, and is trustee of the property, and pays the Imams, for no money is collected for the purpose from the worshippers. They are no more than hired servants, who may be dismissed by the warden, when, with their salary, they lose their name. Their payment being scarcely sixpence a-day, they engage in trade, or as schoolmasters, and many of them recite the Korán for hire in private houses. They are generally chosen out of the poor students. The service of each house of prayer is the same, only the choice of the additional chapter is free, and each ends with a salutation, on the right hand and on the left, to the guardian angels.

The five prayers must be repeated afterwards, if the believer is unavoidably prevented at the proper hours. Travellers and the sick are allowed, when it is requisite, to shorten them.

We learn, from the Traditions, that a religious tone pervaded the whole life of Mohammed. He was, in his conversation, continually referring to the ancient prophets, and speaking of the revelations made to himself. Much of his time was engrossed by acts of devotion; and it was one of his frequent sayings, that the worst of thieves is he who steals from his

own prayers; and one of his slaves, having asked him to teach him an act by which he should gain admittance into Paradise, he answered, "Prostrate thyself frequently, and say many prayers, for thou dost not prostrate thyself once for God's sake without his exalting thy dignity and diminishing thy sins." He not only prayed in the day, but often arose in the night for that purpose. His method of prayer has been recorded. He used to intermix with the prescribed forms extemporary additions, as, "O Lord, pardon my offences, and have mercy on me; shew me the straight path, and give me daily bread." He often prayed against being involved in debt, and used to say that debt would deprive even those who died fighting for religion of the rewards of martyrdom. One of his prayers was for preservation from cowardice, avarice, decrepitude, the strife of the world, the punishment of the grave, against hypocrisy, and for a true tongue. He prayed, also, for his friends, but, unlike a Christian, not for, but against, his enemies. He recommended short ejaculations to be uttered, like an Amen at the end of impressive passages of the Korán. One of his companions said that there was not a chapter, long or short, that he had not heard him recite at the hours of prayer. He generally waited for a congregation, considering social prayer more efficacious than private. He often stood up so long that he was supposed to be lost in meditation, and he sometimes sat between the prostrations. His habits of religion, and, I may add, of superstition, he impressed upon his companions, and they have transmitted them to those who still take him for their guide, in adversity or prosperity, whether their lot be cast in Egypt, or Turkey, or India. Such pious aspirations as these are continually in their mouths, and engraved on their seals, and, in many instances, they seem to influence their conduct.

توكلتي الله

"My trust is in God."

ما توفيقي الا بالله

"My guidance is only from God."

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توكلي الله

"My trust is in God."

ما توفيقي الا بالله

"My guidance is only from God."

انوض امري الي الله

"I make over my business to God."

لا حول و لا قوت الا بالله العلي العظيم

"There is no power, no strength, but in the high, the great God."

من يتوكل علي الله فهر حسبه الي اخري

"He who trusts in God finds Him sufficient till his end."

اعوز من الشيطان المرجيم

"I fly for refuge from the stoned Satan."

They are constantly, in their conversation, praising God; yet we all know how such repetition has a tendency to defeat its object; and prayer recurring five times every day, in the same words, must, in most instances, degenerate into a form especially to Hindus and Turks, many of whom are imperfectly acquainted with Arabic. The repetition so often of the very same ejaculation renders almost unavoidable their falling under our Saviour's condemnation of thinking they shall be heard for their much speaking: and after all, though their acts of devotion are called prayer, they consist almost exclusively of ascriptions of praise, for scarcely any part comes under the former head, except the opening chapter of the Korán, which is only a petition to be directed in the right way, and is more suitable for congregational worship.

The life of the Moslem ought to be a life of prayer; and when taken ill, and about to die, his family, and the hired wailing women, make lamentations, uttering piercing cries, and fakirs are called in to chant the Korán, and the body is washed while they recite some chapters, or the poem in praise of the prophet called the Bordah. When the corpse is carried into the mosque, the funeral service is performed, consisting of four *Tacbirs*. After the first, which is repeated by the whole congregation, the Fathah and the second *Tacbir* are recited, with the addition, "O God, favour Mohammed, the illiterate prophet, and his family and companions, and preserve them." After the third *Tacbir*, follows, "Verily this is thy servant, and son of thy servant: he hath departed from the repose of

the world and from its business, and from whatever he loved, and from these by whom he was loved to the darkness of the grave, and to what he experienceth. He did testify that there is no Deity but thou alone, and that thou hast no companion; that Mohammed is thy servant and thy apostle, and that thou art all knowing respecting him. O God, he is gone to abide with thee, and thou art the best with whom to abide. He hath become in need of thy mercy, and thou hast no need of his punishment. We have come to thee supplicating that we may intercede for him. O God, if he were a doer of good, over-reckon his good deeds, if an evil doer, pass over his evil doings, and of thy mercy grant that he may experience thy acceptance, and spare him the trial of the grave and its torment, and make his grave wide to him, and keep back the earth from his sides, and of thy mercy grant that he may experience security from thy torment, until thou send him safely to thy Paradise, oh thou most merciful of those who shew mercy." The last *tacbir* follows with this prayer, "O God, deny us not our reward for him, (that is, for this service), and lead us not to trial after him: pardon us, and him, and all Moslems, O Lord of all creatures!" The *imam* next greets the angels on his right and left with, "Peace be on you, and the mercy of God," as at the close of ordinary prayer. Then, addressing the persons present, "Give your testimony respecting him;" the answer to which is, "He was of the virtuous." Here the *fikees* and others recite the *Fathá*, and the three last verses of the second chapter. The tomb which is arched, generally of brick, and plastered, is made hollow, that the tenant of it may easily sit up when visited by the two angels. The stone at the head, in addition to the date and name of the person buried, has generally a text, though, like the use of *burnt* bricks, this was forbidden by Mohammed. The body having been deposited, a *fikee* performs the office of instructor of the dead. Sitting before the tomb, he says, "O servant of God, son of a handmaid of God, know that at this time two angels will come down to thee, and on their asking, 'Who is thy Lord,' answer, 'God is my Lord in truth.' They will next inquire concerning thy Prophet, and thou must say, 'Moham-

med is the Apostle of God in truth.' They will then interrogate thee concerning thy religion and the book of direction; and thy answer must be, 'Islam is my religion, the Korán is my book, and the Moslems are my brothers.' Their last question will be concerning thy Keblah, the answer to which is the Kaabeh, and 'I have lived and died in the assertion that there is no God but God.' Then they will say, 'Sleep, oh servant of God, under the protection of God.'" These persons are usually paid or feasted. Sometimes a buffalo is slaughtered, and its flesh distributed, which, like the gift of the bread, is an expiation for *small* sins. The funeral ended, each relative is greeted with a prayer that he may be compensated for his loss, or is congratulated that his life is prolonged. The night succeeding the burial is called that of desolation, in which the soul is believed to remain in the body, after which it departs to Hades, to await its final doom. The *fikees* then, after a repast of bread and milk at the house of the deceased, recite the 67th chapter of the Korán. The ceremony of the Rosary, سبحة *Sobhat*, is also performed on this occasion, and occupies three or four hours. At night, fikees, sometimes as many as fifty, assemble, and one brings a rosary of 1000 beads, each as large as a pigeon's egg. They begin with the sixty-seventh chapter, then say three times, "God is one;" then recite the last chapter but one and the first; and then say three times, "O God, favour the most excellent, the most happy of thy creatures, our lord Mohammed, and his family and companions, and preserve them." To which they add, "All who commemorate thee are the mindful, and those who omit commemorating thee are the negligent." They next repeat 3000 times, "There is no God but God," one holding the rosary, and counting each repetition. After each thousand they sometimes rest and take coffee; then 100 times (I extol) "the perfection of God, with his praise;" then the same number of times, "I beg forgiveness of God the great;" after which, 50 times, "The perfection of the Lord, the Eternal;" then, "The perfection of thy Lord, the Lord of might, exempting him from that which they ascribe to him, and peace be on the apostles, and praise

be to God, the Lord of all creatures."—Korán, XXXVII. last three verses. Two or three then recite three or four more. This done, one asks his companions, "Have ye transferred (the merit of) what ye have recited to the soul of the deceased?" They reply, "We have;" and add, "Peace be on the apostles." This concludes the ceremony, which, in the houses of the rich, is repeated the second and third nights. The first Thursday after the funeral the women renew their wailings, and the *fikees* recite a *khatmeh*. This is a recitation of the whole Korán, which occupies about nine hours; and is customary also at weddings and at public festivals, and is regarded as meritorious in those who bear the expense. A similar recitation, called the ذكر *Zikr*, in commemoration of the names and unity of God, is also recited generally by dervishes. Lane gives this description of one on the night when the prophet's birth-day is kept. It lasted about two hours. The performers, who were about thirty, began, after the *Fathá*, with chanting, "O God, favour our lord Mohammed among the former generations, and favour our lord Mohammed among the later generations, and favour our lord Mohammed in every time and period, and favour our lord Mohammed among the most exalted princes, (angels), unto the day of judgment, and favour all the prophets and apostles among the inhabitants of heaven and earth; and may God, (whose name be blessed and exalted), be well pleased with our lords and masters, those persons of illustrious estimation, Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali; and with all the other favourites of God. God is our sufficiency, and excellent is his grandeur; and there is no strength and power but in God, the high, the great. O God, our Lord, O thou liberal of pardon, O thou most bountiful of the bountiful, O God. Amen." They were then silent, repeating the Fathá to themselves. They then chanted, for half an hour, "There is no God but God;" and a poem of spiritual love was recited by regular singers. They then again repeated "There is no God but God," so loud, with vehement gesticulations, each turning his head alternately to the right and to the left, that at length a visitor, who had repeated with them this profession of

addition will take up about as much more. Should a season of prayer surprise them at a meal, they may postpone it till they have finished. The muezzins remind them of this duty in a loud voice from a tower of the mosques, which has obtained the name of مناراة minaret, a light bearer, from its similarity in its proportions to a candlestick. They intermix several times the Creed and the praises of God; admonishing Moslems in the morning that prayer is better than sleep, and making a longer address twice in the night, when he calls the few who are so disposed to an act of voluntary devotion. At the last he enlarges in commendation of the prophet, the seal of God's apostles, and invoking a blessing upon his family, specifying by name his grandson. In Egypt this call ends with a blessing on Abu Faraj Sheikh of the Arabs, and are all the favourites of God. This local saint, who is buried in the Delta, has the reputation of obtaining the divine favour for those who visit his tomb, and seek his intercession. A nazir, or warden, presides over each mosque, and is trustee of the property, and pays the Imams, for no money is collected for the purpose from the worshippers. They are no more than hired servants, who may be dismissed by the warden, when, with their salary, they lose their name. Their payment being scarcely sixpence a-day, they engage in trade, or as schoolmasters, and many of them recite the Korán for hire in private houses. They are generally chosen out of the poor students. The service of each house of prayer is the same, only the choice of the additional chapter is free, and each ends with a salutation, on the right hand and on the left, to the guardian angels.

The five prayers must be repeated afterwards, if the believer is unavoidably prevented at the proper hours. Travellers and the sick are allowed, when it is requisite, to shorten them.

We learn, from the Traditions, that a religious tone pervaded the whole life of Mohammed. He was, in his conversation, continually referring to the ancient prophets, and speaking of the revelations made to himself. Much of his time was engrossed by acts of devotion; and it was one of his frequent sayings, that the worst of thieves is he who steals from his

own prayers; and one of his slaves, having asked him to teach him an act by which he should gain admittance into Paradise, he answered, "Prostrate thyself frequently, and say many prayers, for thou dost not prostrate thyself once for God's sake without his exalting thy dignity and diminishing thy sins." He not only prayed in the day, but often arose in the night for that purpose. His method of prayer has been recorded. He used to intermix with the prescribed forms extemporary additions, as, "O Lord, pardon my offences, and have mercy on me; shew me the straight path, and give me daily bread." He often prayed against being involved in debt, and used to say that debt would deprive even those who died fighting for religion of the rewards of martyrdom. One of his prayers was for preservation from cowardice, avarice, decrepitude, the strife of the world, the punishment of the grave, against hypocrisy, and for a true tongue. He prayed, also, for his friends, but, unlike a Christian, not for, but against, his enemies. He recommended short ejaculations to be uttered, like an Amen at the end of impressive passages of the Korán. One of his companions said that there was not a chapter, long or short, that he had not heard him recite at the hours of prayer. He generally waited for a congregation, considering social prayer more efficacious than private. He often stood up so long that he was supposed to be lost in meditation, and he sometimes sat between the prostrations. His habits of religion, and, I may add, of superstition, he impressed upon his companions, and they have transmitted them to those who still take him for their guide, in adversity or prosperity, whether their lot be cast in Egypt, or Turkey, or India. Such pious aspirations as these are continually in their mouths, and engraved on their seals, and, in many instances, they seem to influence their conduct.

توكلتي الله

"My trust is in God."

ما توفيقي الا بالله

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faith, became what is called 'possessed.' His voice grew gradually faint, and he fell to the ground in an epileptic fit, the result of a high state of religious excitement. No one seemed surprised, for such occurrences are not uncommon at Zikrs. All the performers now appeared much excited, repeating their ejaculations with greater rapidity, violently turning their heads, and sinking at the same time the whole body: some jumped. Towards the close, a private soldier, who had joined them throughout the performance, seemed also several times possessed. The contrast presented by the vehement and distressing exertions of the performers at the close, and the calm gravity and solemnity of manner at the commencement was particularly striking.*

ALMS,

the second fundamental duty, is called الزكاة *Zakat*, from a verb which has the double meaning of increasing a man's property by bringing down on it a blessing, and of purifying the remainder, or the soul of the possessor. They are payable, 1. on cattle, that is, on camels, kine, and sheep, but not on animals used in tillage; 2. on money; 3. on corn; 4. on fruits, that is, dates and raisins; and, 5. on whatever is sold; but the amount is not above two and a half per cent., and the property must have been in possession almost a year. They were paid originally into the public treasury; but in process of time, when a more convenient mode was introduced of collecting a regular revenue from taxation, the performance of the duty was left to the conscience of the owner. Islam also requires voluntary alms, which bear, as among the Jews, the name of righteousness, صدقات "*sadekat*," an use of the word which occurs in the Bible. Charity is frequently recommended in the Korán, and is there said to give efficacy to prayer, and this agreeable duty is one that the Moslems are faithful in fulfilling.

* Lane, vol. II. chap. xi. xx.

FASTING

is the third duty imposed upon Moslems, and its comparative value is marked by this saying of the second Omar, "Prayer will bring a man half-way to God, and fasting to the door of his palace, but it is to alms that he will owe his admission." The Mosaic law commanded a single day of fasting, but Mohammed sanctioned the appropriation to it of a whole month, in imitation of the pagan Arabs, only he transferred it from Rajab to Ramadhan. It is expressly commanded in the Korán (chap. II.), and the reason assigned is, that on one of its later nights, called the night of القدر *Alkadr*, that is, of Power, "the Korán was sent down, a direction unto men, and a distinction *between good and evil.*" The short chapter XCVII., to which it gives name, tells us that it is better than a thousand months, for therein the angels descend, and Gabriel also, with the decrees (to be executed during the year). There is no duty which is so strictly performed by the Moslems, at least in appearance, for the rich men are said to break it in private; but it is a severe imposition on persons in lower life, who cannot easily evade it. It is not, like Christian fasts, the substituting fish or bread for meat, but, from sunrise to sunset, total abstinence is enjoined from all liquids, as well as from solids. The Mohammedan year being lunar, the fast coincides successively with the winter and the summer, and calls for all the resignation of the Moslem, who, at the close of a long sultry day, does not presume to moisten his parched throat with a drop of water, and must even altogether abstain from his pipe. Instances indeed are not wanting in which the conscientious have actually carried this abstinence to such an excess as to have died. Children are alone exempt; and those who are prevented by necessity must fast afterwards for as long a period. As the fast ends with sunset, night is turned into day, and the strictest observers of the fast do not scruple then to have entertainments, to which they invite their friends. The shops are now opened,

but the tradesmen will be often found praying or reciting passages from the Korán, or distributing bread to the poor. There are additional prayers of as many as twenty racaats at sunset, which are often offered up in the mosques, which are illuminated, and in which the most serious spend the five last nights, including, of course, that of Power.

The Moslems have also voluntary fasts, the principal of which is that of عاشورا, "*Aashura*," that is, the tenth of Moharrem. It is said to have been observed by the pagan Arabs, but was probably adopted by Mohammed from the Jews, to whom it was commanded by Moses, Lev. xvi. 29, being the day of atonement, in which the Israelites were to afflict their souls, and the High Priest was to enter the sanctuary to expiate the guilt of the nation. It is now kept in commemoration of the martyrdom of Hosein; and as it is observed even in Egypt, it is of course, where the Shiyahs prevail, preeminently a day of mourning, تعزیه "*taaziyeh*." In India it is extended to ten days, in imitation of the festival of Doorga, the wife of Seeva, on the last day of which her statue is cast into the river, and the Mohammedan ceremonies terminate with disposing in the same manner, or of burying, of the representation of the sepulchral chapel of Hosein, which the rich adorn at a great expense with flowers, brocades, and mirrors, and which is surrounded with lights in gold candlesticks, and censers burning incense, and embroidered banners. During these ten days there are recitations of the history of Hosein, and also of his elder brother Hassan, with all the demonstrations of grief that might be shown on the death of the dearest friends, and becoming the commemoration of an event which, according to an Hindu author, will impress every Moslem with the deepest sorrow till the day of the resurrection.

The Mohammedan year consists of twelve months, the first of which contains thirty days, and the second twenty-nine, and so in rotation till the completion of the 354 days. It is anterior to the Prophet, and the kalendar must have been formed at a period when the months which derive their names from the seasons corresponded with them.

Moharrem, محرم, the sacred month,
Safar, صفر, the travelling month,
The first Rabiyaa, spring, ربيع الاول,
The second Rabiyaa,
The first frost, Jomad, جمادي الاوال,
The second Jomad, جمادي الاخر,
Rajib, رجب, the sacred month,
Shaaban, شعبان,
Ramadhan, رمضان, the month of extreme heat,
Shawal, شوال,
Dhulkaada, ذوالقعدة, month of residence,
Dhul Hajah, ذوالحجة, month of pilgrimage.

Dhul Hajah was, among the pagan Arabs, as now, the month of pilgrimage, and to secure its performance war was prohibited in the month before and after. Rajib was, in those "days of ignorance," as it is the custom to call them, devoted to fasting, which Mohammed transferred to Ramadhan, which had been given up to excess in drinking, as being the period of the return of the caravans. The Mohammedans have only two festivals: اعياد, called by the Turks *Beiram*, the first, عيد الفطر, the festival of breaking the long fast, is their principal season of rejoicing; the second is عيد القربان, the feast of sacrifice, which is an important part of the pilgrimage, as a commemoration of Abraham's intended offering of his son, which is also kept by those who do not visit Mecca.

In all Mohammedan countries, however, they keep the feasts of their many saints, and often perform pilgrimages to their tombs; and the mode of keeping them is, the recitation, by hired readers, of the Korán, and the dances of their dervishes; but of these I will only mention the Prophet's reputed birth-day on the 12th of the third month, which is celebrated at Cairo for nine days, when the town is illuminated, and the shops are open all night, and, besides the more serious grati-

fication of *Zikrs* for the devout, there are amusements of story-telling, conjuring, and rope-dancing.

I complete this enumeration of the positive duties of Islam with

THE PILGRIMAGE,

which is so far from carrying, like the rest, it own recommendation with it, that it is open, not only to grave objections, but even to ridicule. Mohammed sanctified to the honour of the one true God the ceremonies of the ignorant heathen: and ceremonies so unbecoming a man of sense, and so alien from the grave manners of the East, as circuiting the temple, sometimes running, and sometimes walking in slow procession, the running seven times up and down an adjacent street, and going into the environs to pelt the devil with stones, must produce in all who have not been taught from childhood to respect them as meritorious in the sight of God, according to their disposition, pity or contempt for so irrational and absurd a scene, which has cost every worshipper so much toil, and inconvenience, and expense. And such is their superstition, that even the dead are sometimes made to perform these rounds. Were we suddenly transported into the crowded area, we should be amazed at the seeming insanity of thousands, including the aged, and the learned, men of official rank, and even of reputed wisdom, absorbed in the performance of rites discreditable to rational beings, yet all more or less in earnest, intent upon the fulfilment of what they believe to be a duty. As far as I know, they have only been gazed upon three times, by those who felt no higher interest in the scene than the gratification of curiosity.* The visit of Pitt, the first spectator, was compulsory, for he attended as the slave of a Mahommedan master; the second was the celebrated German traveller, Burckhardt; and the third, Lieutenant Burton, who has supplied us with additional information, but found the pilgrimage itself, as described by his predecessor, so accurate, that he has only reprinted it, with notes. Burkhardt had long passed for a Mohammedan, and was familiar with the language, and I avail myself of his information,

* An account of the religion and manners of the Mohammedans. Exeter, 1704.

though, as a Christian, I must lament that he purchased it at so high a price, and in the most solemn and conspicuous manner declared himself, by his pilgrimage, the follower of the false prophet.

To us, whose religion shews itself in a calmer and colder, and yet, it may be, a deeper feeling, those circuitings, even by the aged, and persons who think themselves philosophers, are preposterous; yet in all ages and countries dances and processions have been introduced into the rites of religion. Even under those systems of Christianity which appeal more to the imagination than to the reason, processions are of frequent occurrence; while there are, even among Protestants, sects, happily few in number, who, from their extravagant motions, derive the name of Shakers and Jumpers. When Cook and other navigators revealed to us the coral reefs and volcanic isles, which, like gems, bedeck the Pacific Ocean, they described the religious dances of Tahiti, which happily no longer desecrate that now Christian island. And the classical student knows how largely such performances entered into the Greek and Roman worship, and that the chorus at the feasts of Bacchus, with its various attitudes before his altar, originated the drama. On occasions of especial joy, thankfulness shewed itself in this way, even under the Jewish dispensation, as when Miriam, leading on the women with timbrels, repeated the song of triumph to Jehovah for delivering his people from the Egyptians; and when David, on bringing into Jerusalem the ark of the Lord, danced with all his might. The concluding psalm is an invitation to every thing that has breath to praise the Lord, not only with wind and stringed instruments, but also in the dance. The practice is familiar to the different orders of Dervishes, who whirl round with a rapidity which almost makes the spectator giddy, and often end in falling on the ground in a swoon. These mystics are more attached to pantheism and their own presumed absorption into the Deity, than to the simple creed of Mohammed; yet their dances probably are imitations of the circuitings of the Caaba, which might be meant to repeat the revolutions of the planets.

The Pilgrimage is expressly commanded in the Korán, II. III. XXII.; and so prejudiced was Mohammed in favour of ceremonies which he had always been in the habit of performing, that he said a believer neglecting pilgrimage, if it were in his power to attend it, might as well die a Christian or a Jew. Ebn Tofail,* an Arabian metaphysician, who endeavours to deduce all knowledge from innate ideas, places for this purpose a man on a desert island, and, while he is from his meditations discovering the arts of life, and a belief in a Creator, he is led by his observations on the heavenly bodies to perceive the wisdom and duty of imitating their motions, and is, by the light of nature, brought to this mode of worshipping God as rational. Gazali more wisely maintains that the ceremonies are unmeaning, and, being such, their performance as a positive duty is the more meritorious. The tradition that connects them with the history of Abraham recommended them from an early age to his reputed descendants; and custom had no doubt endeared them to Mohammed, who, except in his strong belief in the unity and providence of God, did not rise superior to the prejudices of his countrymen, and probably, like them, was persuaded of the truth of these popular tales. Little could he imagine, that what, in theory, may be regarded as the weak point of his religion, would prove its main support; since, however his followers may differ in other particulars, and however far apart from one they may dwell, they are all bound, five times every day, in repeating the same prayers in the same attitudes, to direct their eyes to the holy Caaba of Abraham; and the thousands who have had the privilege of visiting it, and associating in pilgrimage with their brethren, will return with faith strengthened by the honour of the achievement, the privations they have endured, and their intercourse with devotees with feelings like their own. Pilgrimage to a sacred spot, which has even fascinated, in every age, the professors of so spiritual a religion as Christianity, has been always a popular

* The original, with a Latin version, was published at Oxford, by the son of the celebrated Pococke, and afterwards in English, by Ockley. London, 1708.

notion in the East; and it pleased God, in the ancient legal and shadowy dispensation to sanction it, by requiring the presence of the men of Israel, even three times in the year, at the place where he was pleased to set his name, and where alone it was allowed to perform the principal act of religion. Even now Jerusalem is frequented by Christian pilgrims, who substitute, for the profaned site of the ruined temple, the church of the Holy Sepulchre; and their example tends to keep up the same custom among the Moslems.

The Korán authorizes the combination of mercantile speculation with devotion; and where thousands meet, and from the most various climates, as from Bokhara and from Morocco, much business will be transacted. So it was in the great fairs of the middle ages, which were always connected with the anniversary of some favourite saint, and the East has not yet advanced beyond that primitive arrangement of commerce. Still it is but a limited number of wealthy individuals who can find in such journeys an adequate indemnification and profit; and it can only be the satisfaction derived from the performance of an act of extraordinary merit that could constrain the majority of pilgrims to encounter hardships which, to the poor and to the infirm, are dangerous, and sometimes fatal. The Khalif Omar seems to have been ashamed of the ceremonies, for he is reported to have addressed the famous black stone in terms not unlike those of the sceptic Zaid, "I know thou canst neither help nor hurt me, and unless I had seen the Prophet do it, I should never have kissed thee." In a much later age such absurd respect roused the fury of Hakim, the mad Khalif of Egypt, who, jealous of any object of worship but himself, commissioned a partisan to demolish it. "How long shall this stone be adored?" he exclaimed, and drew out from under his cloak a club; but he could only shiver from it a few fragments, for an indignant pilgrim dispatched him with a dagger. In the eyes of all—for few can be supposed to undertake such a journey from a vain and idle curiosity—Mecca is holy ground, and a journey, by few repeated, to the centre of their faith, with all its hallowed associations, which connect their Prophet

with the friend of God, who is claimed, too, by Jew and Christian as the Father of the Faithful, and the very garb which they have assumed, solemnize the mind, and prepare it for acts, the reason and fitness of which they do not presume to scan.

At a considerable distance the pilgrim must assume the احرام, *Ihram*, or sacred garb, which is unquestionably ancient, and is still the common dress of the tribes on the Red Sea. In "the days of ignorance" the Arabs threw off their clothes, and pilgrims now are thinly clad, for they wrap only one piece of cloth round the loins, and throw another over the shoulders. Such a suit is unfavourable to health, and yet many continue to wear it by day and by night after they have completed the ceremonies. Rigid devotees assume it at the commencement of their pilgrimage, but it need not be put on till within a few stages. The ceremony begins with bathing, and shaving the head. The pilgrims then, after a prayer of two inclinations, and entreating a blessing on their undertaking, end with the لبيك *Lebik*, a declaration of their readiness to obey, which ought to be during its performance continually in their mouths. The words are, "Here I am, O God, here am I! No partner hast Thou! Here am I! Truly, praise, beneficence, and sovereignty are thine! No partner hast Thou! Here am I!" The Sheikh, who acted as Burton's director, bade them be good pilgrims, avoiding quarrels, immorality, and even light conversation. They must now so reverence life as to kill no animals, not even the fleas that annoy their persons; and they must shew their respect for the sanctuary, by not plucking so much as a blade of grass. Any violation of these rules requires the sacrifice of a sheep, of which the transgressor is not allowed to partake. Such a life of prayer and forbearance ought to produce a reverential state of mind, but it seems to have produced no such beneficial effect on any of Lieutenant Burton's party. Age or disease is the only justification of a covering for the head, and the indulgence must be purchased by alms. Umbrellas, however, have not been prohibited, and are used by northern hajis. The excitement of the pilgrimage on very susceptible minds is overpowering; and Burckhardt witnessed

the enthusiasm of an African, who burst into a flood of tears, and, in the depth of his emotion, exclaimed, "O God, now take my soul, for this is Paradise!" Pilgrimage is a duty binding upon all, women no less than men. Inability is the only exemption, and Moslem casuists have determined that those who are incapable must perform it by a deputy, and bear his charges. The Khalifs continued to set an example to believers, even after their settlement at Bagdad; and the celebrated Harun performed as many as eight pilgrimages. His grandson, Almamun, turned his into a journey of pleasure, bringing with him the means of supplying in the desert luxurious banquets, with the choicest fruits and iced water. Harun went on foot, and was attended, not by his harem and his courtiers, but by doctors of the law. Saladin, the model of saints as well as of sultans, regretted that he could not fulfil the duty, and hoped, since his religious wars with the Franks prevented him, that the will would be accepted for the deed. Believers of eminence of every kind, men of piety, of learning, and of station, have courted and earned this distinction, but few reigning princes have obtained the honoured name of Haji. Bajazet performed the pilgrimage before his accession, but Mecca has never been visited by an Osmanli Sultan. The pilgrimage was suspended for nearly a quarter of a century by the Karmathians, who attacked the caravans, plundered Mecca, and carried off the black stone, in the hope that it would attract the pilgrims to their own capital, to which they had removed it. It was again interrupted in our own day by the Wahabis, who united several of the Arab tribes under their sovereignty in the interior, destroyed the tomb of the promulgator of Islam, and believed themselves commissioned to check the excessive honours lavished on the Prophet and other saints, and to bring back the faith to its original simplicity. They were entirely defeated by the famous Pacha of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, who revived the pilgrimage, and attended it with his court, and it was under his protection that it was performed by Burckhardt. No doubt it was a much frequented one. He estimated the pilgrims at 70,000; but D'Ohson, who wrote

before the French Revolution, raises them to 100,000. When lighted up at night, this square, occupied by thousands engaged at once in prayer, agreeing in doctrine, and one in spirit, must be indeed an imposing spectacle. Burckhardt, a solitary exception, calmly regarded what he saw, and I present an abridgment of his description:—

"The locality is no oasis, to refresh with shade and gushing streams the weary, way-worn pilgrim, who, in whatever direction he comes, must approach the sanctuary through a desert. Mecca is in a narrow, sandy valley, within hills of moderate elevation, barren, and wholly destitute of trees. Still it is more cheerful than most eastern cities, because the streets have purposely been made wide for the passage of the pilgrims, but the only open space is the sacred enclosure. It is strange that a city that exists only for pilgrims has no caravanserais to accommodate them. The far-famed Caaba, so called as being nearly a cube, towers above all the low, flat-roofed dwellings, though no more than forty feet high. From time immemorial a place of pilgrimage, its erection is traced up to Adam. The Deluge of course washed it away, and it is said to have been rebuilt by Abraham. Still the actual edifice has not the prestige of antiquity, for it has been renewed eight times, and as far as could be with the old materials, a reddish sandstone. Its unique appearance bears out the tradition that it has been scrupulously restored after the original design. The last was nearly washed away by a torrent which inundated the town, and the present was erected as late as 1624, by Amurath IV.; and indeed whatever dignity it derives from the enclosing arcade it owes to the piety of the Turkish Sultans. It was rebuilt while Mohammed was a private individual, and it is curious that he should have been the person chosen to lift the black stone into its place. It contains but one small apartment, then level with the ground, but now raised so much above it that it can only be entered by a moveable ladder. The walls are hung with a rich red silk, interwoven with flowers and silver inscriptions, which was replaced by the Pasha, and the old hangings were cut up and sold to devotees at enormous

prices. The room is opened only three days in the year, and many pilgrims never enter it, for it is not obligatory: it can receive very few at a time, and a fee is exacted, to the indignation of the devout, who regard it as desecrating the holiest spot upon earth. It is customary to pray on entering, and Burckhardt overheard ejaculations which seemed to come from the heart.—'O God of the Korán, forgive me, my parents, and my children, and deliver our necks from hell fire." The Caaba must have a singular appearance, for it is visible for no more than a fortnight, being constantly clothed with a black damask veil, in which prayers are embroidered, and as this material, an animal product, is unclean, it is lined with cotton. Openings are left for the sight of the black and white stones. Both are said to have been once of the same colour, which the first is reported to have lost in consequence of sin; but the surface has probably been blackened by time, aided by the kisses and touches of a long succession of pilgrims. It is an irregular oval, seven inches in diameter, apparently a mass of smaller stones conglomerated in a cement, and encircled by a silver band. It is probably an aërolite, and owes its reputation, like many others, to its fall from the sky. This house of God, as it is called, is said to have been first clothed by the Hamyarite kings of Yemen, seven centuries before the birth of the Prophet; and these covers used to be put on one over another, till the end of the first century of Islam. It has since been yearly renewed, and the old cover cut up. The privilege of clothing it, which was assumed by Kelan, Sultan of Egypt, on the conquest of that country by Selim, passed over to him and his successors. An adequate idea of the building may be formed from the views in Reland and Sale, and especially that in D'Ohson's work. It stands in an oblong square 250 paces by 200, but as it has been enlarged it no longer occupies the centre. It is nearly enclosed by a circle of slight pillars at a little distance, around which are the four stations for the orthodox sects. The one used by the adherents of Shafai is called that of Abraham, because he is supposed to have stationed himself there while building the House. Persons are always standing about it, to

invoke the patriarch's blessing, and a short prayer is to be said here on the termination of the rounds. Near this station is the well Zemzem, which the Moslems believe gushed out for the relief of Ishmael, for they ignorantly transfer to their own home the distant desert of Beersheba. It is a copious stream, which apparently never diminishes, but is too sacred to be used, except for drink and ablution. Most pilgrims provide themselves with enough for the washing of their bodies after death. While on the spot they drink largely, and are allowed to draw it for themselves, which many work hard at, hoping thereby to expiate their sins.

The pilgrim is expected on his arrival, before he engages a lodging, or attends to any secular concern, to visit the mosque. He will find guides to help him in saying the proper prayers. On entering, he prays with four *rakaats* to salute the mosque, and in gratitude for having been allowed to reach it. He then advances and touches, and, if the crowd do not prevent him, kisses the black stone. He then begins the طوف, *tawuf*, circuit, which is repeated seven times, the first three rounds at a quick pace, in imitation of the Prophet, who once accomplished them at full speed, to confute the rumour of his being alarmingly ill. Every circuit is accompanied with stated prayers and the kissing of both stones. The pilgrim next, with outstretched arms, prays for the pardon of his sins; he then performs two *rakaats* at Abraham's station, and drinks of zemzem. He is now conducted to a small ascent, called the hill of Safa, to take the سعي *sai*, that is, a walk along a level street, six hundred paces long, to Merona, a stone platform. He has to walk quick, and for a short space to run, and during the course, which is also repeated seven times, he must pray aloud. He may now shave his head; but as the course is fatiguing, that ceremony is generally postponed. The course is in imitation of Hagar's running backward and forward. It is indispensable to visit, on the ninth day, Mount Arafat, عرفه, or knowledge, so called because Adam and Eve are said to have met here, after their long separation, on their expulsion from Paradise. It is meritorious to perform this expedition of six

hours on foot; some were engaged in reciting the Korán or prayers, while the worldly and impenitent quarrelled with their camel drivers. The hill was entirely covered, for in addition to the pilgrims, the inhabitants of Mecca and of Jidda consider it their duty to attend. At three in the afternoon the Kadhi took his stand, and read a sermon till sunset, at intervals stretching forth his hands to invoke the divine blessing on the immense multitude, who rent the air with shouting in return the *Lebik*, "Here we are at thy disposal, O God!" Some were crying and beating their breasts, and confessing themselves to be grievous sinners, in the style of an American camp-meeting, while others mocked them, or smoked with oriental gravity, and some to intoxication with forbidden hemp. The Kadhi's shutting his book was the signal for a general rush down the hill, as it is thought meritorious in pilgrims to quicken their pace. The tents had been previously packed up, and the caravan was ready to return. According to a tradition, there are 600,000 beings present, angels making up the deficiency of human attendants. The latter were estimated by Ali Bey at 83,000, by Burckhardt at 70,000, and by Burton at 50,000, who adds, that in the succeeding year the number was reduced one-half. The night was passed at an intermediate station, Mazdalifa, in prayer and reciting the Korán, and here a shorter sermon was read, between the dawn and sunrise. The multitude then returned to the valley of Mina, where each pilgrim throws, in three places, seven small pebbles, in imitation of Abraham, whom God is said to have instructed thus to drive away the devil, who endeavoured to interrupt his prayer, and to tempt him to disobey the command to sacrifice his son. This ceremony over, they slay their victims, and feast on them with their friends, giving what remains to the poor, but using no sacrificial rites, only saying, "In the name of the merciful God!" and "God is great!" Burckhardt guessed that they must have sacrificed eight thousand sheep and goats. The pilgrims remain on the spot two days more, and on each they repeat the throwing the pebbles. They now shave their heads and cut their nails, and bury the hair and parings, and

close their pilgrimage with a valedictory circuiting of the Caaba, and the walk between Saffa and Mervaa. Pitt, who unwillingly accompanied his Moslem master, and, after his escape to Christendom, described the pilgrimage, was deeply impressed with the appearance of devotion. "It was," he says, "a sight to behold at Arafat so many thousands in their garment of humility and mortification, with naked heads, and cheeks watered with tears, and to hear their grievous sighs and sobs, begging earnestly for the remission of their sins, promising newness of life, and using a form of penitential expressions for four or five hours."

It is the popular notion that, if all the pilgrims were at the same moment to visit the Caaba, the enclosure would contain them all. Burckhardt calculates that 35,000 might attend, but he never could count above 10,000. By day it is the place of traffic as well as of devotion, and schools are taught and lectures are given under the arcades. By night a pious few remain to pray and meditate without interruption. The simultaneous prostration of this prodigious multitude, heightened by the reflection that they come from the extremities of the east and the west, to unite in prayer, in obedience to the command of their prophet, was felt to be impressive, even by Burckhardt, who viewed the scene as a philosopher. How overpowering, then, it must be to an enthusiastic Moslem! but to the Christian, who, happily, has learnt to worship the one God, in his personal distinctions of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and comes boldly, with filial confidence, to his throne, through a sufficient, because a divine as well as human Mediator, it would be a melancholy spectacle. He cannot but grieve at the misdirected piety, which, for so many centuries, has yearly brought thousands, in the hope of pleasing God by such absurd and inefficacious ceremonies, to commence a pilgrimage which is laborious and painful, and not seldom terminates in an untimely death; for many perish from disease, brought on by fatigue, their scanty covering, unhealthy lodgings, and, in some cases, by absolute starvation. For a month after, Burckhardt saw, daily, corpses brought into the

enclosure. The dying are taken there to be cured, by a sight of the house of God, or, at least, to have the satisfaction of expiring on holy ground. Once he had to close the eyes of a pilgrim who had crawled there to breathe his last, in Moslem language, in the arms of the prophet and the guardian angels. He intimated, by signs, his desire to be sprinkled with Zemzem water, and while he was sprinkling him, he expired.

Medina is 250 miles distant, yet few pilgrims return without visiting a city endeared to them as the asylum of their prophet when forced to fly from his home. Yet his city, as well as Mecca, and in a greater degree, has lost the charm of antiquity. The unlearned pilgrim may be deceived by the modern Caaba, since it substantially represents the edifice, which has been encircled, we know not for how many centuries, by successive generations of pilgrims; and it might also be mistaken by their prophet himself, if allowed to visit the spot, for the house he had assisted in building, though he would be astonished at the stations and the arcades that enclose the area. His own little mosque at Medina, contiguous to his humble dwelling, and shut in on three sides by houses, he could not recognise, for it lasted only till the reign of his son-in-law, Othman, his third successor, and was rebuilt on a grander scale by the Khalif, Walid, who adorned it with minarets. The edifice, which underwent subsequent alterations, was so damaged by lightning, that it was superseded by a new one, as late as the 888th year of the flight, by Kaim Bey, the Circassian Mamluk sovereign of Egypt. Here Moslems have the satisfaction of praying on the site of the interment of their Prophet, and of his two friends and successors, and in the cemetery on that of his beloved daughter Fatimah, and of many of his companions, whom they revere as saints. Associations may render the visit at the tomb more gratifying than that to Mecca; but the latter is a duty of their religion, the former is altogether optional; yet, no doubt, as voluntary, this visit heightens the reputation of a pilgrim.

We have seen, in the historical sketch, that the adherents of Ali had, as soon as circumstances permitted, marked their devotion to his cause by mosques raised over his grave, and

that of his son, whose martyrdom is still so deeply lamented yearly in Persia and India. The murdered Khalif was interred a few miles from the ruined Cufa at Nejef, on the site of Hirah, in *the days of ignorance* the court of Emirs, who often acted as the viceroys of the kings of Persia. Hosein lies at Kerbela, forty-five miles distant; and both shrines have been visited by Mr. Loftus, who, in imitation of Mr. Layard, has explored the remains of cities in Susiana and Assyria, under the protection of the troops of the Pasha of Bagdad. Meshed Ali, that is, his place of martyrdom, occupies the centre of a large square, and a town has grown up around it. The mosque this traveller did not enter, because the bigotted crowd was much excited by the appearance of Europeans, whom they regard as infidels, escorted by Turks, whom they abhor as heretics. Approaching it through the desert, the gilt dome and minarets, when struck by the sun's rays, give it an imposing effect. Kerbela is a contrast, for the intermediate district is a succession of date forests; but the mosque is inferior in its decorations, and is in a dilapidated state, and one of the minarets is seemingly ready to fall. The Pasha had not long before beseiged the two towns. Meshed yielded when summoned, but Kerbela made a long, though ineffectual, resistance. As places of pilgrimage, they at least rival the Caaba; for though the visit is not recognised by Islam, these sacred spots are endeared by associations to the Sheyahs. They are more accessible, and here they are welcome, and among fellow-worshippers; whereas the stations at Mecca are only for the four sects of the Sonnites, while they must conceal their heresy, or expose themselves to insult, it may be to personal injury from their opponents, excited by fanaticism, and indignant at their profaning by their presence the House of God. Lady Sheale considers that Bagdad chiefly exists by this stream of pilgrims, estimated by Loftus at no less than 80,000; and it is incessant, for it has not, like the Mecca pilgrimage, a fixed season. Another extraordinary difference is, the succession of caravans of the dead, carried in coffins, to be interred in these holy cemeteries, especially in that of Hosein; and this

revolting custom is promoted by the idea that they shall, by this act of posthumous merit, atone for the greatest crimes. Eight thousand corpses are said to be brought annually from Persia. The gifts and legacies to the shrines are a drain on the resources of that kingdom, and the government has endeavoured to turn this stream, into a different direction, to Meshed, within its own dominions in Khorasan, the tomb of Ali Reddha, the most celebrated of the Imams, who was proclaimed by the Khalif Mamun as his heir.

CONCERNING MOHAMMED.

This second article of the Moslem creed is thus expressed by Gazali—

"The most high God has sent an illiterate Prophet of the family of Korish with a mission to all (rational beings) Arabs and barbarians, genii and men, and, by his law, has abrogated all laws except what he has confirmed. He has distinguished him above the rest of the prophets, and appointed him Prince of Mankind, and has prevented the completion of the confession of faith in the Unity, without adding the testimony of the Messenger. And he has made it necessary for men to give credit to him in what he has related concerning the present and the future life."

His followers assign to him as many names, or rather epithets, as to God. He is known upon earth as Mohammed, in hell as Mahmud, and in heaven as Ahmed; the first two meaning him who is praised, the last him who is praiseworthy. He is also called مصطفى Mustapha, the Chosen. Mohammed has since become a common name, and is regarded as fortunate; and those who are so happy as to bear it will mark their estimate of it on their seals, as, "Praise be to God! I bear the name of Mohammed." Kelan, Sultan of Egypt, at the close of the thirteenth century, gave a son the name, that he might enjoy the benefit of the prophet's special intercession. It is the popular belief that none who bear it will be condemned to hell; and at Constantinople, when the state is thought to be in

danger, the sovereign chooses ninety-two persons who are so distinguished to recite certain chapters of the Korán, in order to propitiate the Deity.

To those who demanded such a sign as was granted to the ancient prophets, he was instructed to reply, "Praise be to my Lord! I am only a man, a messenger." And in another place God is introduced, telling him that he is but an admonisher, and that every people has its guide; that is, according to Jelalaldin, "It is not your province to work miracles." He professes, too, to have no new revelation, but to be inspired only to revive a belief in the divine Unity, which was the religion of Abraham. It is amazing, then, that Moslems are required to believe, not only that he worked miracles, but was also the most perfect of men for whom the world was created; and that he is described in the Traditions as superior to angels, and to all the preceding prophets, who will assemble round him at the resurrection, when he will rise first, and appear as the standard-bearer; and is declared now to perform the office of Intercessor, which Adam, Noah, Abraham, and even Jesus, confessed themselves unworthy to undertake. This exaltation of him is not in harmony with his own statements in the Korán, and casts a strong suspicion over the authenticity of a collection of sayings, into which it was so easy to insert them, and ascribe them to his companions.

It is customary to begin every Mohammedan work, in prose or verse, with praise, first, of the Deity, and then of the prophet; and poems have been composed exclusively in his honour. The most famous of them is commonly called بردة Borda, or Cloak, from Mohammad's gift of the coarse one he wore to Lebid, the author of one of the suspended poems, who had satirized him, and been excommunicated, but shewed his repentance by this composition in his praise. This coarse cloak was purchased from his family by Moawiyah, and descended as an heir-loom from khalif to khalif. Lebid's poem, like most of those which precede Islam, commences with a description of his mistress, followed by that of the camel on which she was conveyed from her home. It is

known by its opening words, بانت سعاد *Banat Soad*, that is, Soad, (the object of his affection) *has departed*, and consists of no more than fifty-eight distiches. He says much less than we should expect of Mohammed. He tells us that he had been threatened with death, but hopes for pardon, relying on Him who gave the Korán, with its exhortations and teachings, and on the Prophet, whom he declares that he fears more than lions, and compares him to a dazzling sword drawn from the scabbard.

There is another poem, longer, and much more recent, which more commonly bears this name, but its proper title is,

كواكب الدرّية في مدح خير البرّية

Cawakab alderriet fi medah kheir alberriet,
"Twinkling stars in the praise of the best of the creation."

Its reputation seems to have originated in the tale that it restored sight to the Vizir Bohaaldin, on being laid on his eyes, and that afterwards he never listened to it except standing with his head bare. The author, Sherifaldin, who died in A.D. 924, at a very advanced age, is surnamed Albusiri, from a town in Egypt, where he was born. The prophet is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and rewarded him for his panegyric, by curing him of lameness, caused by palsy. It is revered as a sacred composition. Distiches from it, in letters of gold, adorn most of the sepulchral chapels in Constantinople, and the whole of it is inscribed upon the walls of the Library of Raghib Pasha. It has had many commentators, and has been translated into Persian and Turkish, and passages from it are often sung during their dances by the Rufai dervishes. Each distich ends in the first letter of the name of the prophet. The European may judge of its merits, as it has been translated into French by De Sacy, and into German by Von Hammer.

Having never had, as he said, recourse to the prophet, without finding him a patron whose protection is invincible, or desired from him any good, temporal or spiritual, without some grant from his liberality, the poet launches forth

into an absurd and blasphemous panegyric. According to this his worshipper, as he may be called, Mohammed is the prince of both worlds, of genii as well as of men, and the sovereign of two races, Arabs and barbarians. He resembles the sun, which, at a distance, does not appear in its true greatness, but, seen nearer, dazzles the sight. "He is the friend of God, whose intercession is the sole foundation of men's hopes, and their resource in the worst of dangers. Through him they have been called to the knowledge of God; and whoever attaches himself to him, attaches himself to a cord which is not liable to break. He has surpassed all other prophets by his external and internal gifts, none of whom approach him in knowledge or virtue; and he shares with none these incomparable qualities, as he possesses entire and incommunicable excellence.

"Assign to his person whatever you please of dignity,
Assign to his power what you please of greatness,
For certainly to the excellence of God's messenger there is no limit:
The speaker cannot describe it with his mouth."

"The sum of our knowledge of him is that he is a man:
And the most excellent of all the creatures of God."

و انسب الي زاته ما شيت من شرف
و انسب الي قدرة ما شيت من عظم
فانّ فقر رسول الله لين به
حرّ فيمرب عنه ناتقن بفم
جميع العلم فيه انه بشر
و انه خير خلق الله كلهم

The poet inconsistently demolishes the foundation of his panegyric, when he adds,

"Only omit what the Christians say of their prophet,
And praise him as much as you please."

دع ما ادعته النّصراني في نبيهم
و احكم بما شيت مدحا فيه

Common sense might have convinced him that the Christians could only be justified in their exaltation of Jesus, because they believed that his Father had given him that name which is above every name; that he united with his manhood the divine nature; and that he had been from the beginning "God over all, blessed for evermore." Thus he is entitled and enabled to be "the Mediator between God and man," and an efficacy is given to his intercession which it is absurd to predicate of the best of men, who, with the nature, must partake of the sinfulness of the race for which he would wish to intercede.

The utmost that can be claimed for Mohammed is, not that he redeemed man and reconciled him to God, and "opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers," but simply, that he shewed the way of acceptance, a way, according to his own confession, which had been revealed to Abraham, and which he was commissioned again to open. There has been a growing tendency among Moslems to magnify, not only their prophet, but their sheiks and religious guides, which is incompatible with a pure Deism, and shews that such a system will gradually degenerate into a superstitious reverence for fellow-men assumed to be superior in sanctity. Such exaggerated encomiums would have been distasteful to one who said, "God has not commanded you to take the angels and the prophets for your lords" (K. iii.), and who avows himself to be an ordinary man (K. viii. 100), and a sinner (K. xlvii. and xlviii.), and disclaims the possession of the treasures of God and a knowledge of his secrets. On his own testimony he must be inferior to Jesus, for he declares him to be without sin; and, as having no human father, he intimates that he must be more than a man. There is a tradition, that previous to the prophet's ascent into heaven, and, according to some, in childhood, two angels cut open his body, and Gabriel took out his heart, which, before replacing, he washed, to cleanse it from natural corruption. This is a great concession, since it concedes the doctrine of original sin, and admits that none who has not been cleansed from this taint can be inspired by God as his prophet. The further consequence ensues, that the ordinary believer, without this process, cannot

acceptably serve his Maker; and thus the Moslem may be led to see the hopelessness of those who trust to the performance of a covenant of works, the inadequacy of which is to be made up by the uncovenanted mercy of the Creator. It is the universal custom of Moslems to pray for God's blessing on their prophet, which is a strange inconsistency in those who believe him to enjoy already the highest state of exaltation and blessing.

The Sheyahs add to this short creed, "Ali is the wali of God," a term equivalent to khalif; and some of them even regard him as an incarnation of the Deity. Considering him as the legitimate successor of the prophet, his three predecessors they condemn, and even curse. The Turkish confession of faith, with a reference to this schism, adds to the acknowledgment of the prophet, that whoever does not honour all his companions is a schismatic. The Sonnites have never been provoked to speak disrespectfully of Ali, but honour him in the fourth degree. I introduce a passage from the Dabistan, a Persian survey of religious sects, as it conveys the impartial judgment of one who was neither Sonnite nor Sheyah, but a philosophical professor of the religion of Zoroaster—

"Two learned men having a dispute concerning the superiority of Ali the Elect (whose face may God honour!) over the two Sheiks, Abubekr and Omar, and Othman, the lord of the two lights, that is, husband of two daughters, of the prophet (upon all of whom be the mercy of the Almighty!), referred the dispute to Kaivan, who observed,

"All four are the four perfections of the prophetic edifice,
All four are the four elements of the prophet's soul."

The distinction between the two exalted parties is difficult, as two of them claim supremacy on the celebrity of being fathers-in-law to the Arab founder of their religion, and the other two are fitted for dignity by being his sons-in-law. "But the excellent Ali, the Lion of God, was esteemed so pre-eminent an object of divine favour among the Moslems, that want of faith, and ignorance, induced many to worship him as the true God, until this great person openly disclaimed such a pretension.

Also during the Khalifate of Abubekr, the faithful witness, of Omar, the Separator, and of Othman, the lord of the two lights, error misled many to such a degree that they denied their authority, until these legitimate directors asserted their claims to that dignity."*

To an impartial observer, this canonization, as it may be called, of Ali is peculiarly absurd. We may allow him to have been like the preceding khalifs, a sincere believer in the mission of his father-in-law, and an honest supporter of the divine Unity. But he laid no claim, any more than them, to inspiration; nor have even the most enthusiastic of his supporters, though they say that Gabriel, by mistake, communicated the Korán to Mohammed instead of to him, assigned to him any revelation. His partisans declare that he was formally inaugurated khalif by the prophet, but this is contradicted by history; and even allowing his right to the khalifat, which is very questionable, they should remember that he actually enjoyed it, and that, when sovereign, he shewed himself in no respect superior to his predecessors. Indeed his services were inferior; for the first two vastly extended the empire of Islam, and the third brought the pretended revelation into a permanent and readable form. The contention as to Ali's right is the more ridiculous, since the khalifat has been for centuries extinct, and whatever prerogative the Turkish Sultan may claim is derived from the Fatimite khalif of Egypt, his reputed descendant. His long-postponed reign was inglorious and unfortunate, illustrating Tacitus' proverbial censure of Galba, that he would have been deemed an excellent emperor if he had never reigned. The lingering death of his son Hosein, who suffered in the spirit of a martyr, is a tale, the annual commemoration of which, by the Sheyahs, keeps up an enthusiastic interest in the family, and, however often repeated, excites the sympathy even of the Christian reader. His pious resignation and charity reflect a glory upon his father, and also shed one upon his heirs, who led lives of innocent and austere devotion, embit-

* Vol. I. p. 97.

tered, and sometimes shortened, by the jealousy of the relatives who occupied the throne to which they had an hereditary claim. The head of Hosein is interred in a mosque in Cairo, and even in that land of Sonnites the anniversary of his death is kept with great solemnity; and throughout the Turkish dominions the reputed descendants of Ali, a large body, who are distinguished by green turbans, enjoy certain privileges, and are distinguished by the respect which in other countries is paid to nobility.

But not only is this unreasonable respect shewn to the memory of the prophet, and of his family and successors, but the many countries professing Islam abound in holy sheiks and dervishes, whose sepulchres are visited, and whose prayers are solicited, like those of the inferior deities of the Pagan world, and of Roman Catholic saints. This illustrates the unwillingness of unrenewed man to presume to approach the awful Governor of the Universe, whose justice he fears too much to regard him with reverential love, and his tendency to seek his forgiveness and his support through other men more worthy to be heard, yet who can put forth no claim to entitle them to act as intercessors. Yet reason and conscience bear witness to this feeling; and the Missionary might take advantage of it, to shew, that neither heathen nor Moslem can draw nigh to his Maker direct, but that he will be accepted and heard for the sake of Him, who, in order to be a Mediator, has united the nature of the two parties who were at variance, and can alone make them at one, *the man Christ Jesus.*

Such is, I believe, a correct exposition of the dogmas and positive duties of Islam, the system of him who represented himself as the restorer of the religion of Abraham, but is more truly designated by Schlegel,* as the false Paraclete of misconceived promise and idle phantasy, who announced a faith without mysteries, and a morality without love. Pascal† asks "What mystery did he reveal? what miracles did he work?" To these queries his followers can give no satis-

* Philosophy of History, Lecture XII. † Pensées II. xii. 7.

factory reply. His teaching nothing which had not been known to the Patriarchs is surely fatal to his claim of being the last and greatest of inspired guides, the seal of prophecy. Without Moses, the prophets, and Christ, Mohammed is inconceiveable; without the Old and New Testament, or rather the Talmud and the apocryphal gospels, the Korán could not have been imagined. Mohammed is described by the modern German historian of the church as actuated by a zeal for the honour of the one only God, whom the primitive traditions still extant among his countrymen, and conversations with Jews and Christians (strengthened, I may add, by his own meditations), had taught him to recognise and adore. A feeling of the infinite distance between the Creator and his creatures, and of complete dependence upon Him, was the predominant element in his religious character, while that of relationship and communion with this almighty and incomprehensible Being was wholly wanting. Hence, his one-sided mode of apprehending the divine attributes, excludes parental love, which ennobles every other quality; and if compassion was assumed to temper justice, it was only that of a sovereign to a slave, and did not harmonize with the prevailing tone of his religion. This explains the predominant fatalism of Islam; and as it is the moral character of the Diety which determines the spirit of a religion, the whole system of Mohammed, notwithstanding some sublime maxims scattered over the Korán, because wanting a right foundation, is radically defective. The God who is worshipped as an almighty and arbitrary Will could be honoured by the performance of insulated outward services, as the repetition of prayers, and ablution, and pilgrimage, which he has seen fit to prescribe as marks of reverence, and, especially, by the extermination of his enemies, the idolaters. Redemption finds no place in this scheme. The fall of the first man occurs indeed in the Korán, but it is as an insulated fact, and connects itself so little with Islam, that its omission would not affect its essence or genius, for man appears in the Korán as a frail and feeble being, unable to render perfect obedience, but not as a sinner, whose nature requires to be renewed.

Mohammed declared himself a messenger sent from God for the restoration of pure Theism, by whom it was to be freed from the foreign elements which had become incorporated with it, even in Judaism and Christianity. Still, his hostility against the latter did not so much arise from the corruptions which had debased it, as from his own abstract Monotheism, which placed a chasm, never to be filled up, between God and his creatures. From this point of view any mediatorial action of God, for the purpose of bringing human nature into fellowship with himself, must appear as derogatory from His dignity and an approximation to idolatry. It was not merely a certain speculative mode of apprehending the Trinity which offended Mohammed, as savouring of Tritheism; but it was the essential element of Christianity, the divinity of Christ and His sacrifice of himself, to reconcile God to man and man to God, which he could not receive. Still, a natural feeling of man's inability to fulfil the law of God, even in the lower view of outward obedience, in which it principally appeared to him, led him to adopt the notion of intercession, though in his scheme of Deism it could rest on no reasonable foundation.*

Mohammed could not have comprehended the first principles of Christianity, for, with the Gnostics, he did not believe in its fundamental doctrine, the crucifixion. Judging him, however, independently, as we should judge of Zaleucus or Lycurgus, we must allow him to have been a practical reformer. He found his countrymen so infatuated with the passion of gaming, as not only to risk the loss of all their property, but even liberty: they were also addicted to hard drinking. But both together, with divination, are forbidden in the Korán V. 92, 53: "O, true believers, surely wine, and lots, and images (supposed by commentators to be chessmen), and divining arrows, are an abomination of the work of Satan: therefore avoid them, that you may prosper. Satan seeketh to sow dissension and hatred among you, by means of wine and lots, and

* Neander, vol. V., p. 117, &c.

to divert you from remembering God, and from prayer. Will ye not, therefore, abstain?" In an earlier command (Korán II. 216.) he had left it doubtful: "They will ask thee concerning wine and lots. Answer, In both there is great sin, and things of use to men, but their sinfulness is greater." The discretion which seemed granted in this passage is abrogated in the former. Adultery and all illicit intercourse are forbidden: the number of wives he restricted to four, and rendered divorce less easy. He prohibited the practice of burying alive female infants, and hostilities between different tribes, whom he taught to regard one another as brethren. But if we extend our view beyond this limited horizon, and estimate him as the author of a new religion, which has been accepted by so many nations, whatever moral improvement he may have effected among the Arabs sinks into insignificance with the evils inflicted on more populous countries; and we may pronounce him the scourge of God, raised up to punish his professing people, who had so adulterated the true faith with human corruptions, as to have impaired, if not destroyed, its efficacy. More fully does he deserve the title than an Attila, or any other military conqueror, whose devastations, however calamitous, are but temporary; whereas Islam, from the truth admixed with it, and its plausibility, lays hold of the mind of the idolater, and instead of being, as some have hoped, the pioneer of Christianity, is its most formidable opponent, not only by satisfying those who had grown ashamed of polytheism, but by representing it as a more refined idolatry, which commands the worship of three gods. We should also remember that it was long before it came into contact with the heathen, and that its first triumphs were over the Christians in Syria and Egypt, and the religion of Zoroaster in Persia, which also acknowledges but one Deity. At the outset of his career Mohammed only claimed the office of an Admonisher, placing Judaism and Christianity on the same level with the revelation made to himself, and denouncing as an intolerable presumption the maintaining that there is only one faith in which a man can be saved. But when settled at Medina he first (Korán XXII.) permits his followers to defend themselves, then (LXI.)

he commands them to defend the truth with their substance and their persons; and, finally, he represents aggressive war, to enforce religion, as meritorious, promising to those who fell as the reward of martyrdom—an immediate entrance into paradise. The conquered were invited to adopt Islam, but were allowed to retain their ancient faith on the payment of tribute; but they have always been exposed to mortifying and humiliating degradation. And many Christians have, no doubt from worldly motives, professed the religion of their masters; while some, unable to read the Word of God, and knowing Christianity only in a corrupt form, have preferred a system which prominently brings forward the Deity as the only object of worship, and appears more rational and more spiritual than the superstition in which they have been educated.

As contrasted with idolatry, Islam must appear to advantage; but, upon close inspection, it is not the pure Deism which it boasts to be, for it is degraded by the Pagan ceremonies of the pilgrimage, and an irrational alloy of Judaism; for its sacrifices, not being typical, are absurd. Mohammed professed to be sent with a revelation to all mankind; while the revelation from Sinai was designed to keep Israel distinct from all nations, till, in the fulness of time, its meaning should be explained by the propitiatory death of the only Being who could take away the sins of the world. The Jewish element of Islam is without an object, for Mohammed could not see how the law was no more than a schoolmaster, to bring the believer, when come to years of discretion, to Christ. His religion, having no sacrifice, properly so called (for every Moslem offers his own victim), has no priesthood; and having no *commemoration* of a sacrifice, like Christianity, it does not know the distinction of clergy and laity. This recommends it, as exempted from superstition, and to those who, though baptized into the Christian faith, have renounced or doubt its essential and characteristic doctrines. But sacrifice was instituted, I firmly believe, by God himself, when the fall of man caused him, in infinite mercy, to substitute a remedial system

for the broken covenant of works. It has been grossly abused, not only by the heathen, who, while they retained it, had lost the key to its meaning, but, unhappily, also by Christians: still its very abuses shew that the doctrine is congenial to the human mind. It is wonderful that Mohammed did not discover its importance from the sacrifice of Abraham, whose religion he professed to restore; but, failing to perceive its efficacy as a trial of the patriarch's faith, and indicating a nobler victim, he has left an immeasurable distance between man and God, whom a sinful being does not dare to approach, and whom, at the best, he views, not as a father, but as a merciful sovereign. A thoughtful believer in a Supreme Being, his Creator, whom he expects to be, after his resurrection, his Judge, must, unless assured of his reconciliation, from a consciousness of his own shortcomings, and even transgressions, feel uneasy respecting his future destination. For he knows that he cannot satisfy the claims of justice, and he can have no peace and joy in believing a system which holds out no reasonable assurance of forgiveness. The intelligent and well-disposed Moslem, therefore, will thankfully embrace the Gospel, which, if clearly explained to him, he will allow completely justifies its appellation, and he will say, as the early seeker after truth said to the first inquirers into Islam, "What you seek, I have found." In morality, also, the Korán resembles not the gospel, but the pentateuch. The former teaches the spirit of ethics, leaving the believer to work it into his practice. The latter keeps the mind in tutelage by commanding specific acts. Precepts of ritual observance, as Hallam * observes, being always definite and unequivocal, are less liable to be neglected, after their obligation has been acknowledged, than those of moral virtue. Thus, the long and rigid fast, the pilgrimage, regular prayers and ablutions, the constant almsgiving and abstinence from stimulating liquors, created a visible standard of practice, and preserved a continual recollection of the Law.

I will conclude with a few observations on the tendency of this religion. It has been charged from the beginning with encouraging sensuality; and its success has been all but uni-

* Middle Ages, vi, p. 115.

versally ascribed to its removing the restraints which morality imposes on the passions. It cannot be denied, that, though Mohammed reduced to four the legal number of wives, and, in other respects, limited the indulgence which, in the East, has always been granted to those whose circumstances allow them to gratify their desires, his own increasing licentiousness, for which he claimed a special dispensation, may, as example has more weight than precepts, justify this charge. The Korán, moreover, it has been truly said, turns paradise into a boundless harem; and the minute accounts of its enjoyments continually recurring, if they do not disgust, must increase the sensual propensities of the reader. The consequences, however, that may be logically deduced from premises do not always practically follow, and I should say that these reasoners overlook another element in Islam, of counteracting influence, the uncontrolled sovereignty of an omnipresent, almighty God, to whom his creatures must return, and who expects them to obey Him, and to be resigned to his will. Judging, as far as I am able, of the Mohammedan character, as exhibited in its most favoured specimens the result of the creed appears to me to be a philosophical austerity, which is at least in danger of degenerating into a satisfied self-righteousness. Gibbon* observes that the legislator who enacts these painful restraints (that is, the rigid fasts and the interdiction of wine) cannot be accused of alluring his proselytes by the indulgence of their sensual appetites; and I am borne out by the more weighty authority of Hallam, who observes, that a devout Moslem exhibits much more of the stoical than of the epicurean character; a stoic, I may add, of more humility than that of the school of Zeno, who boasts of being superior to Jupiter, since his excellence is not from necessity, but choice, because his system is humanized by his acknowledged dependence upon his Maker, Teacher, and ultimate Judge. It must be allowed, with him, that no one can read the Korán without being sensible that it breathes an austere and scrupulous spirit; and, in conclusion, I observe, that its spirit seems to have been generally imbibed by those who

* Decline and Fall, chap. L.

acknowledge its authority, and that the praises of the Deity, and injunctions of resignation to his will, which pervade their conversation, apparently influence their conduct. It is, however, no more than resignation: there appears to be no peace and joy in believing, at best a dutiful submission to the sovereign Disposer of events, no sign of that spirit of adoption which cries "Abba, Father." An eastern city has no exhibitions of paintings, no concerts, no dramatical representations; only recitations of tales in prose and verse, in coffee-houses; and the prohibition of games of chance excludes cards and dice. Wine can only be drunk in private, and strict casuists bring coffee and tobacco under the same condemnation. These luxuries were discovered centuries after the era of the Prophet; but the houses which were opened for the purpose of indulging in them, have been shut up, from time to time, by the sovereigns of Constantinople, and only finally tolerated. And it would appear, from Lane's full and minute account of Life at Cairo, and from other authentic sources of information from eastern travellers, that gravity, not dissipation, is, at least in public, the characteristic of a Mohammedan nation.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PROMOTING THE CONVERSION OF MOHAMMEDANS.

THOUGH the whole human family be descended from one parent, nations are distinguished from one another by a diversity of religions. All, however, fall under two grand divisions—that of those who have been left to discover the truth by what is called the light of nature, that is, their own reasoning aided by traditions; and those justly called in the Korán "the people of the Book," because they alone claim the benefit of a divine revelation. The first may acknowledge one Supreme Being; while they are worshippers of many false deities, of like passions with themselves: but the creed of the latter, that is, of the Jews and Christians, and the Moslems, who acknowledge, the one true God, creator, preserver, and governor of the world, who will recal men from the grave to life, and judge them according to their works, alone deserves examination.

The three profess to have a volume revealing the will of God for their guidance in this life, with a promise to his faithful people, who believe and obey him, of a happy eternity. The earliest is that of Moses; the second that of the Christians; and the faith of both was followed by Arab tribes long before the birth of Mohammed, of the noble race of Koreish, the hereditary guardians of the temple of Mecca, and reputed descendants of Abraham, through his son Ishmael, who declared himself to be the last of the prophets, and destined to supersede all other teachers of religion.

The Jew receives only the law announced to Moses by the voice of God himself from Mount Sinai, and the other Hebrew scriptures, because, though he expects a Messiah, whom God

has promised he would raise up out of his brethren, like unto Moses, as a legislator, he does not, like the Christian, discover him in Jesus; and he rejects the Korán, because he needs no new prophet. The Christian acknowledges the Jewish dispensation, but only as preparatory to his own; and, feeling complete in Christ, as the Son of God as well as the Son of man, and the author of eternal salvation to all who obey Him, he needs no other guide; and finds that Mohammed, even if the Korán were a divine revelation, has nothing to offer him which he does not already most abundantly possess.

The Moslem believes that all the prophets, including Moses and Jesus, came from God, and to the latter he concedes pre-eminence over those who came before him; but he maintains that Mohammed is the seal of the prophets, the greatest as well as the last, and that the Korán abrogates both Law and Gospel. Mohammed announced himself as the ambassador of God to the red man and to the black, that is, to the whole human race; and he and Christ alone claim the allegiance of all, coming with a universal religion, and that religion committed to the clear and unvarying record of writing. The inquiring unbeliever, then, who is, with reason, dissatisfied with the contradictory speculations of those who, from the unassisted resources of their own intellect, set up as the guides of their brethren, has to choose between Mohammed and Christ; for the introductory revelation to Moses is only addressed to Israel, and is avowedly preparatory to the doctrine of a superior prophet, whom God would raise up, a descendant of their own race. The Moslem is continually praying to the merciful and compassionate God, whom he calls Lord of all worlds and king of the judgment-day, to guide him into the right path.* And let us invoke the aid of our heavenly Father, who is the hearer of prayer, to enable us to exhibit the truth in love, and to bring it home to the understanding and heart of the reader, and to shew that Christianity, and not Islam, was the

* رَبِّ ٱلعَالَمِينَ مَالِكِ يومِ ٱلدِينِ إِهْدِنا ٱلصِّرَاطَ ٱلمُستَقِيمَ

real faith of Abraham, whom Moslems call حانيف, *hanif*, that is *the orthodox*,and the *Friend of God.* Mohammed was in the habit of retiring for meditation and prayer, from time to time, to mount Harah, near Mecca; and here, in his fortieth year, we are told that the angel Gabriel came to him and revealed, for the first time, some verses of the Korán, which continued afterwards to be communicated to him as required, in portions, at Mecca or Medina, until his death. His first converts were his wife Kadijah, his slave Zaid, his youthful nephew, Ali, whom he called his friend and vizier وزير, or *bearer of his burdens*, andhis first successor Abubekr. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of proselytes, and it was not till the fourth that he announced himself as a prophet, at a party of forty of his kinsmen, whom he had invited to an entertainment. Ali alone believed. He afterwards, as opportunity offered, at the festivals at the Caaba, and in private, conjured the Arabs to reject their idols, and resign themselves to the service of the only God, who had no companions. But how should the idolaters of Mecca know that Gabriel had really spoken to him? Some proof might reasonably be required, and we know no more than two, predictions, and miracles. Now both are possessed by Christianity in the most copious abundance. These predictions begin with the first book of the Bible, and end with the last. The intimation of a deliverer, one of her own descendants, made to Eve on the fall, is, from its generality, obscure. But age after age the prophecy is renewed, and becomes more and more particular. Thus this descendant of Eve is promised to Abraham as his seed; is announced by Balaam, as a star out of Jacob and a sceptre out of Israel; and to David the king, as of his family. The period of his coming, obscurely foretold by the dying Patriarch, was long afterwards, fixed by Daniel; and Micah declares his birth-place. His character, his miracles of mercy, his humiliation unto a disgraceful death as a satisfaction to the justly offended Creator, whereby God, being reconciled to man, could continue just, in justifying the ungodly, his resurrection on the third day after his death, by which he was

proclaimed to be the Son of God with power; his sitting now at his Father's right hand, as the sole Mediator between God and Man, and his future coming to judge mankind, are foretold in the Old Testament, and their accomplishment, as far as they have been fulfilled, may be read in the New. But where are the predictions of Mohammed?

When a person comes as a messenger of God, and requires obedience to his message, it is natural to ask for his credentials; and the demand is so reasonable, that God has been always pleased to grant it, by enabling his true messenger to work miracles, that is, such acts as exceed the power of man, which are therefore properly called signs, معالم. The eminent Arabian philosopher, ابن سينا Ebn Sina, thus shews the reasonableness of this:

فواجب اذن ان يوجد نبي وواجب ان يكون انسانا وواجب ان يكون له خصوصية ليست لساير الناس حتي يستشعر الناس فيه امراً لا يوجدنا لهم فيتميّز به عنهم فتكون له المعجزات التي اخبرنا بها ، فهذا الانسان اذا وجد يجب ان يسنّ للناس في امورهم سنناً باذن الله تعالي وامره ووحيه وانزالة الروح المقدس عليه

"It is necessary that a prophet should be found, and that he should be a man; he should have special peculiarities which other men have not, so that they shall acknowledge that there is in him what is not found in them, and that by this he should be distinguished from them. And it is fit that this man, when found working miracles, should give men a law to guide them, by the permission, command, and revelation of God most high, and by the descent of the Holy Spirit on him." Thus, when Moses announced to Pharaoh the divine command concerning the children of Israel, and that tyrant replied, "*Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice, and let Israel go?*" he was

Exodus v. 2.

made to know, by a succession of miracles, that He spoke by a higher authority than that of man, and the declaration of Jehovah was fulfilled, "*I will stretch out my hand and smite Egypt with all my wonders, which I will do in the midst thereof, and after that he will let you go.* (Exodus iii. 20.) *And then God said, I will multiply my signs and wonders in the land of Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I stretch forth my hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them.*" Our Saviour, too, justified his claim to be Messiah by miracles, and He worked not, like Moses, as the agent of God, but by his own inherent capability, which he also gave in measure to his apostles after his resurrection, when he had received from his Father *all power in heaven and in earth.* Jesus appeals to these signs, as rendering those who did not receive him inexcusable. "*If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, if ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.*" (John x. 37.) "*The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me.*" (John x. 25) "*If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin.*" (John xv. 23.) Indeed, this reasoning is so just, that it occurs to all men; and we find that, in the Korán, the miracles both of Moses and of Jesus are allowed to be true. Thus, for example, of the first:

"And Moses said, O Pharaoh, certainly I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. It is right for me not to speak of God other than the truth. Certainly I am come to you with evidence from your Lord. Command, therefore, to go with me the children of Israel. He said, If you have come with a sign, produce it, if you are one of those who are true. Then he threw down his rod, and, lo, it was a manifest serpent; and he drew forth his hand, and, lo, it was white to the spectators." (Chapter CII. 102.)

١٠٢ وَقَالَ مُوسَى يَا فِرْعَوْنُ إِنِّي رَسُولٌ مِنْ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ ١٠٣ حَقِيقٌ

عَلَى أَنْ لَا أَقُولَ عَلَى ٱللَّهِ إِلَّا ٱلْحَقَّ قَدْ جِئْتُكُمْ بِبَيِّنَةٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فَأَرْسِلْ
مَعِيَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ قَالَ إِنْ كُنْتَ جِئْتَ بِآيَةٍ فَأْتِ بِهَا إِنْ كُنْتَ
مِنَ ٱلصَّادِقِينَ ١٠٤ فَأَلْقَى عَصَاهُ فَإِذَا هِيَ ثُعْبَانٌ ١٠٥ مُبِينٌ وَنَزَعَ يَدَهُ
فَإِذَا هِيَ بَيْضَاءُ لِلنَّاظِرِينَ

Those of the second are also specified. Thus, in the third chapter, v. 14, "when the angels said, O Mary, God certainly has sent thee good tidings of his word from Him. His name is the Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, honoured in the present and in the future world, and one of those who are near to God. And he shall speak in the cradle, and in advanced life, and shall be one of the righteous."

٤٠ إِذْ قَالَتِ ٱلْمَلَائِكَةُ يَا مَرْيَمُ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُبَشِّرُكِ بِكَلِمَةٍ مِنْهُ ٱسْمُهُ
ٱلْمَسِيحُ عِيسَى ٱبْنُ مَرْيَمَ وَجِيهًا فِي ٱلدُّنْيَا وَٱلْآخِرَةِ وَمِنَ ٱلْمُقَرَّبِينَ
٤١ وَيُكَلِّمُ ٱلنَّاسَ فِي ٱلْمَهْدِ وَكَهْلًا وَمِنَ ٱلصَّالِحِينَ

"And he shall say to the children of Israel, Certainly I come to you with miracles from your Lord. I will create unto you of the clay as the figure of a bird, and I will breathe into it, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of God. And I will cure him that hath been born blind, and the leper, and I will raise the dead, by the permission of God. Verily, herein will be a sign to you, if you believe."

أَنِّي قَدْ جِئْتُكُمْ بِآيَةٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ أَنِّي أَخْلُقُ لَكُمْ مِنَ ٱلطِّينِ كَهَيْئَةِ
ٱلطَّيْرِ فَأَنْفُخُ فِيهِ فَيَكُونُ طَيْرًا بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ وَأُبْرِئُ ٱلْأَكْمَهَ وَٱلْأَبْرَصَ
وَأُحْيِي ٱلْمَوْتَى بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَةً لَكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ

And in the chapter, called المائدة The Table: "O Jesus, Son of Mary, remember my favours, and when I defended thee from the children of Israel, when thou camest to them with evident miracles; and those among them who were unbelievers said, 'This is nothing but evident magic.'"

يَا عِيسَى ابْنَ مَرْيَمَ اذْكُرْ نِعْمَتِي وَإِذْ كَفَفْتُ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ عَنْكَ
إِذْ جِئْتَهُمْ بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ فَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْهُمْ إِنْ هَذَا إِلَّا سِحْرٌ مُبِينٌ

Thus we see that the miracles of Christ are allowed by the Korán, yet in bearing testimony to them it betrays the ignorance of the author, and therefore its human origin; for it not only specifies his curing bodily defects, diseases, and restoring the dead to life, but the absurd wonders of speaking in his infancy, and making a bird, childish displays of power for its own sake, confounding the former, contained in the four genuine Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, with those in the false ones, written long after, and never accepted by any branch of the church, in the East or in the West. The confirmation of the mission of Moses and Jesus by miracles was a fact well known to the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina; for though they were pagans, many of the Arabs had been converted both to Judaism and to Christianity; and there were tribes in Mohammed's time who acknowledged, some Jewish, and others Christian sovereigns. They reasonably required of him the same evidence, and this we learn from the Korán, which introduces them continually speaking to this effect. (V. Sur.): "We will not believe until you bring us what has been granted to the messengers of God."

لَنْ نُؤْمِنَ حَتَّى نُؤْتَى مِثْلَ مَا أُوتِيَ رُسُلُ اللَّهِ

Thus, in chapter XVII., اسر Night Journey:

"And they say, 'We will by no means believe in thee until thou cause a spring of water to gush forth for us out of the

earth; or thou hast a garden of palms and vines, and thou causest rivers to spring forth from its midst abundantly; or thou causest the heaven to fall down upon us in pieces, as thou hast boasted; or thou bring down God and the angels to vouch for thee; or thou have a house of gold; or thou ascendest by a ladder to heaven.'"

٩٢ وَقَالُوا لَنْ نُؤْمِنَ لَكَ حَتَّى تَفْجُرَ لَنَا مِنَ الْأَرْضِ يَنْبُوعًا ٩٣ أَوْ
تَكُونَ لَكَ جَنَّةٌ مِنْ نَخِيلٍ وَعِنَبٍ فَتُفَجِّرَ الْأَنْهَارَ خِلَالَهَا تَفْجِيرًا
٩٤ أَوْ تُسْقِطَ السَّمَاءَ كَمَا زَعَمْتَ عَلَيْنَا كِسَفًا أَوْ تَأْتِيَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ
قَبِيلًا ٩٥ أَوْ يَكُونَ لَكَ بَيْتٌ مِنْ زُخْرُفٍ أَوْ تَرْقَى فِي السَّمَاءِ

And again, in chapter XXI., الانبيا The Prophets:

"And they who act unjustly discourse privately together, saying, 'Is this person any more than a man like yourselves? Will ye, therefore, come to hear a piece of forgery when you plainly perceive it to be such? But they say the Korán is a confused heap of dreams, nay, he has forged it, nay, he is a poet. Let him come unto us, therefore, with some miracle, in like manner as the former prophets were sent.'"

وَأَسَرُّوا النَّجْوَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا هَلْ هَذَا إِلَّا بَشَرٌ مِثْلُكُمْ أَفَتَأْتُونَ
السِّحْرَ وَأَنْتُمْ تُبْصِرُونَ ٥ بَلْ قَالُوا أَضْغَاثُ أَحْلَامٍ بَلِ افْتَرَاهُ بَلْ هُوَ
شَاعِرٌ فَلْيَأْتِنَا بِآيَةٍ كَمَا أُرْسِلَ الْأَوَّلُونَ

There are many Mohammedan theologians who will accept the challenge of their prophets incredulous contemporaries, both Jews and idolaters, and furnish an abundance of marvellous stories concerning him; some of them going so far as to say that his miracles exceed in number those of any pre-

ceding prophet, and reckoning a thousand, and others even three thousand. Among them are the cure of diseases, and restoration to life; but these, which, if true, and confirmed by contemporary evidence, might be justly called signs, are few indeed in comparison of those of a frivolous and legendary character, such as shew the reporters to be credulous lovers of the marvellous, and to have had no just conceptions of the nature of this species of evidence. "They affirm that trees went forth to meet him, that he was saluted by stones, that water gushed from his fingers, that a beam groaned to him, that a camel complained to him, and that a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned."*

Two of these they endeavour to support from the Korán—his night-journey to the throne of God, and his splitting of the moon. They tell us that a mysterious animal called Borak, براق, from برق lightning, conveyed him one night from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem, which they forget had been destroyed centuries before by the Romans. With Gabriel he is said successively to have ascended the seven heavens, and received the salutation of patriarchs, prophets, and angels, in their respective mansions, and that he alone was permitted to proceed beyond, within two bow-shots of the throne, when he felt a cold pierce him to the heart on his shoulder being touched by the hand of God. After an important conversation, it is related that he descended to Jerusalem, remounted Borak, and returned to Mecca, having performed, in a tenth part of a night, this prodigious journey, a real one in the opinion of most of the Moslems, but regarded by the more judicious as a vision. It is recorded, with variations, and appears in the Sonnah, on the authority of some of his companions. But who can vouch for them who could only derive their knowledge of it from the reputed traveller? If we turn to the Korán, XVII. 1, we shall be surprised at the inventive power of traditionists, for the text upon which such minute commentaries have been raised contains only this sentence:

* Gibbon, ch. L.

سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ لَيْلًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ
الْأَقْصَى الَّذِي بَارَكْنَا حَوْلَهُ لِنُرِيَهُ مِنْ آيَاتِنَا إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ

"Praise be to Him who transported his servant by night from the sacred mosque to the most distant mosque, the circuit of which we have blessed, that we might shew him some of our signs, for God is he who heareth and seeth."

The other legend, for which they endeavour to obtain the authority of the Korán, is the mode in which their apostle confounded, in a national assembly, the malicious challenge of the Koresh. His resistless word, according to the tradition, split asunder the orb of the moon, which, descending from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions round the Caaba, saluted Mohammed, and, suddenly contracting her dimensions, entered at the collar of his shirt, and issued forth through the sleeve. The whole is built upon this simple passage, the commencement of chapter LIV.

١ اقْتَرَبَتِ السَّاعَةُ وَانْشَقَّ الْقَمَرُ ٢ وَإِنْ يَرَوْا آيَةً يُعْرِضُوا وَيَقُولُوا
سِحْرٌ مُسْتَمِرٌّ

"The hour approacheth, and the moon hath been split asunder; but if they see a sign, they turn aside, saying, 'This is a powerful charm.'"

The past tense is here supposed by many to have a future sense, and this splitting is regarded as one of the promised signs of the day of judgment.

We have here specimens how the fertile imagination of admiring Moslems complete the picture, of which, at the best, the original gives but the slightest outline; and if any one would only cursorily examine the works on the Korán of Beidhawi, and their other admired commentators, they will find that they continually forget their proper province of explaining, and introduce into narratives, which are rather hinted than told, new circumstances, without stating any authority for them. Every person, who has any notion of

evidence, must perceive that such assertions are worth nothing, and, indeed, most of the miracles ascribed to Mohammed are only found in very late authors. And here it becomes important to state, that, in all the religions of the people of a Book, as the Mohammedans call all who profess to have a divine revelation, the Book should be considered as the sole authority. It is, however, a melancholy fact, that, for want of attending to this plain and simple rule, Jews, Christians, and Moslems have worked out systems of religion, with a multitude of ceremonies unknown to Moses, Christ, and, Mohammed, and in many instances, contrary to the genius of their respective systems. To begin with the Jews. Jesus told those of his generation, not merely that they added human inventions to the divine oracles, but even rendered the latter of none effect through their traditions; and He shews how their casuists ingeniously contrived to evade the fifth commandment, which requires children to honour, and, if necessary, maintain their parents, not even by giving to God's service what ought to be expended in this obvious duty, but by merely declaring such to be their intention. In his age these traditions were only oral; but after the destruction of Jerusalem, for fear of their being lost, they were committed to writing, and fill many volumes far larger than the Law and the Prophets, to the study of which their Rabbis devote their lives, to the comparative neglect of the Scriptures, and shew their estimation of the two, by likening the latter to water, the former to wine. Again, the Christians, though they have no such written collections, but must gather their traditions out of Councils and the writings of the Fathers, as they call all early ecclesiastical writers, have strangely corrupted the simplicity of Gospel faith. The reader of ecclesiastical history knows that this corruption early began, and, when the Roman emperors embraced the faith, grew worse and worse; so that Mohammed, who probably never read the New Testament, and knew only Christianity as it prevailed in Syria and his own Arabia, might well regard it as little better than the idolatry of his countrymen. This the Korán itself shews; and we to whom the Bible is open, and who have rejected the hay and stubble which the Roman Ca-

tholics and the Eastern Christians have built upon the true foundation, the Lord Jesus Christ, believe that God raised him up as a scourge to punish these corrupters of the faith, and to deprive them, as a judgment, of the light, against which they shut their eyes, preferring darkness. In a wonderfully short period the armies of the first khalifs overrun and occupied the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, and at length Constantinople, the capital, became the seat of a Mohammedan power. The people generally embraced the simple creed of their conquerors, which their descendants continue to profess; while those who retain the religion of their fathers use liturgies in their ancient languages, which few, even of their priests, understand, and, not reading their scriptures, know little of real Christianity.

The Moslems, too, have their traditions, which the majority of them, like the Jews and Christians, value at least as much as their Book. Their most approved doctors, as we have seen, agree that the edifice of Islam rests upon the Korán, and upon the Sonnah, or Tradition; that is, as they maintain, the Word of God, as communicated to the Prophet, and the report, on credible witnesses, of his sayings and doings, which are presented to mankind as a model of conduct.

It is in these traditions that we read the minute particulars of the Prophet's night journey to heaven, and of the miracles ascribed to him. Bokhari is careful to notice the names of all those through whom a tradition has been transmitted; and most of these are ultimately traced up to Abu Horira, a friend of Mohammed, or to his favourite wife, Ayesha. But who can prove this succession, and what reliance may be placed upon any of them? Many may be true, but they sometimes favour doctrines contrary to the genius of the Korán, and positively contradict it, when they ascribe miracles to the Prophet. We read in the Korán that both the Jews and the pagan Arabs required a sign from him as evidence of his mission from God. The Jews said, "God has made a covenant with us that we should not believe any messenger till he bring us a sacrifice which the fire shall consume. Answer, "These messengers

came to you before me, with demonstrations and with that which ye require, (sacrifice), and why did ye kill them, if ye be true?"

قَالُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَهِدَ إِلَيْنَا أَلَّا نُؤْمِنَ لِرَسُولٍ حَتَّى يَأْتِيَنَا بِقُرْبَانٍ تَأْكُلُهُ النَّارُ قُلْ قَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رُسُلٌ مِنْ قَبْلِي بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ وَبِالَّذِي قُلْتُمْ فَلِمَ قَتَلْتُمُوهُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ

(K. III. 18.) The Arabs making the same demand, he is instructed to reply (XVII. 93) "Praise be to my Lord, I am only a man, a messenger."

سُبْحَانَ رَبِّي هَلْ كُنْتُ إِلَّا بَشَرًا رَسُولًا

And in the XIII. chapter 34 it is said, "This thing belongs exclusively to God. Do not believers know, that if God were willing He would guide all men?"

لِلَّهِ الْأَمْرُ جَمِيعًا أَلَمْ يَايْئَسِ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَنْ لَوْ يَشَاءُ اللَّهُ لَهَدَى النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا

And he even declares that miracles were withheld from him in mercy, lest the condemnation of those not convinced by them should be greater. "Nothing prevented our sending thee with the miracles which the people of Mecca desired, except that the former, to whom we sent, treated them as false, and we destroyed them." (XVII.)

وَمَا مَنَعَنَا أَنْ نُرْسِلَكَ بِالْآيَاتِ إِلَّا أَنْ كَذَّبَ بِهَا الْأَوَّلُونَ وَآتَيْنَا ثَمُودَ النَّاقَةَ مُبْصِرَةً فَظَلَمُوا بِهَا وَمَا نُرْسِلُ بِالْآيَاتِ إِلَّا تَخْوِيفًا

One miracle, however, he has the confidence boldly to claim, and one which the Moslem maintain to be superior in its evidence to every other, namely, the very book itself, which he appeals to as the credentials of his embassy. "This Korán could not have been composed by any except God. Will they say Mohammed has forged it? Answer. Bring, therefore, a

chapter like unto it, and call whom ye may to your assistance, besides God." (38.)

وَمَا كَانَ هَذَا الْقُرْآنُ أَنْ يُفْتَرَىٰ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ أَمْ يَقُولُونَ افْتَرَاهُ
قُلْ فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِثْلِهِ وَادْعُوا مَنِ اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ

And again (II. XXI.), "And if ye are in doubt concerning the revelation which we have sent down to our servant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witnesses, besides God, if ye speak truth."

وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي رَيْبٍ مِمَّا نَزَّلْنَا عَلَىٰ عَبْدِنَا فَأْتُوا بِسُورَةٍ مِنْ مِثْلِهِ
وَادْعُوا شُهَدَاءَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ

And not only does he so challenge them, but all intellectual beings (XVII. 90.): "Say, verily, if men and genii were purposely assembled that they might produce the like of this Korán they could not, although they assisted one another."

قُلْ لَئِنِ اجْتَمَعَتِ الْإِنْسُ وَالْجِنُّ عَلَىٰ أَنْ يَأْتُوا بِمِثْلِ هَذَا الْقُرْآنِ لَا
يَأْتُونَ بِمِثْلِهِ وَلَوْ كَانَ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ ظَهِيرًا

The Moslems, in their discussions with Christians, continually endeavour to silence us with this miracle, which they represent, from its permanence, as far surpassing all others, which, from their nature, terminate in their performance, and by a future age can only be received on testimony; whereas this is called a standing and never-ending miracle, by Jelalaldin in his commentary:

اية مستمرة لا انقضاء لها

and Algazali magnifies it by saying that such a miracle was peculiar to Mohammed, and that "God granted it to an uneducated man, who had never exercised himself in knowledge, and never studied books or travelled in order to acquire knowledge, but had always lived among the most ignorant of the Arabs, an orphan, weak, and neglected."

اتاه الله جميع ذلك وهو رجل امّي لم يبارس العلم ولم يطالع الكتب ولم يسافر قط في طلب علم ولم يزل بين اظهر الجهال من الاعراب يتيما ضعيفاً مستضعفاً

And we may add, that he had no access, except by conversation, to the knowledge of others, for he could neither read nor write; but in those days of ignorance, as these are called, this was no disgrace, since he shared it, generally speaking, with his fellow-citizens at Mecca, who were called ignorant, الامّيون, in opposition to the Jews and Christians of Medina, who were termed people of the book, اهل الكتاب. This notion of the unrivalled superiority of the Korán is, as a literary work, general among Moslems; yet it has not been universal, for among the sect of المتزل Motazeleites, عسي المردار Isai Almerdar maintained the possibility of writing a more eloquent work; and Sharastani tells us, in his account of religious and philosophical sects, الملل و النحل, which has been translated into German, that the miracle, according to Alnadham (النظام), consisted, not in the style, but in the matter. It is not for me, an European, imperfectly acquainted with the language, to oppose the general opinion, though I may think that the genius of Arabic, and its copiousness, has been far more fully exhibited by Hariri in his Discourses, مقامات Makamat, or in the works of Ebn Arabshal; and I believe that it was not the mere diction, but the morality, superior to that then prevalent in Arabia—the narratives of Abraham, and Jesus, and Moses, and others, interesting, though inferior to the true history in the Bible—and, above all, the sublime descriptions of the Deity interspersed, that produced so great an impression. The wonder, too, increased with each successive age while literature flourished. But, on the other hand, the impartial will consider that the Korán was from the first regarded as a model of ornamental prose composition; and this principle once established, none would venture to deviate from it, or, if they did, would find few admirers. The Arabs of those times,

we know, had no other literature than their heroic songs, in the composition of which, no less than in feats of arms, their tribes contended; and certainly the confession of Lebid, one of the most eminent of these, who preferred a chapter to his own poem, and became a zealous convert, goes far to establish the superiority of the Korán. It is only fair to add, on the other side, that this is a miracle only to competent judges, and they are a very limited number; for we must exclude not only the many foreign nations who have been converted, as the Turks and Persians, but even those whose native tongue is Arabic if uneducated.

Mohammed disclaiming, as we see, the gift of miracles, appeals to prophecy, and takes to himself the office of the promised monitor and advocate, which, it is remarkable, had been previously assigned first to Montanus, and afterwards to Manes; but in both cases, even if interpreted only as endowed with a fuller measure of the Holy Spirit, positively contradicted by the context. According to the Korán (lxi. 6.)

وَإِذْ قَالَ عِيسَى ٱبْنُ مَرْيَمَ يَا بَنِي إِسْرَآئِيلَ إِنِّي رَسُولُ ٱللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيَّ مِنَ ٱلتَّوْرَاةِ وَمُبَشِّرًا بِرَسُولٍ يَأْتِي مِنْ بَعْدِي ٱسْمُهُ أَحْمَدُ

Jesus, the Son of Mary, said, Verily, ye children of Israel, I am the apostle of God, confirming the law which was before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who is to come after me, whose name shall be Ahmed."* But our Lord's words, as recorded by St. John, shew that they cannot apply to any subsequent prophet. "Nevertheless, I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you," xvi. 7. This interpretation can only be supported by reading περικλυτος for παρακλητος, a change which would seem inconsiderable to one

* This word is derived from the same root as Mohammed, and is nearly equivalent in meaning.

accustomed to a language in which vowels were not inserted. The text is thus explained by a Mohammedan defender of Islam: معني الفارقليط هو الحامد والحماد او المحمد او المعزفهذا الوصف ظاهر في محمد. The meaning of Paraclete is "praise or praiser," or "praiser or glorifier," and these qualities were manifest in Mohammed. Having made this mistake, he renders the word by المعز (glorifier), instead of المعزي (consoler). A person of any candour, who reads the whole discourse, must perceive that the context upsets the verbal criticism. This Comforter could not be Mohammed, for how could a man, not born till six centuries later, comfort these disciples, and bring things to their remembrance. Certainly he could be no man, for Jesus expressly said that the world cannot see Him, and that He shall dwell in them: and we read, in the opening of the Book of Acts, that our Lord having, after his resurrection, assembled the eleven apostles, commanded them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which, he says, "ye have heard from me; for John truly baptized with water, but *ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence:*" and when the Jewish feast of Pentecost was come, only *ten* days after, we read that they were all, with one accord, in one place, and were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. It was also the office of this Comforter and Advocate, not to make any new revelation, but to glorify Jesus—to take of his doctrines, and to shew and to explain them to his apostles. It is manifest, then, that the prophecy was fulfilled in that generation, and by the miraculous power the Holy Spirit conferred on the first teachers of Christianity.

Both Jews and Christians might reasonably reply that he had altered the received text; that the Messiah had been from the beginning, through a succession of ages, the grand object of prophecy; and that, if the Almighty had determined to reveal his will through another messenger, he who assumed that character should be able to bring forward from the ancient Scriptures some clear and manifest prediction. He en-

deavours to escape from this dilemma by boldly maintaining that there had been this evidence, but that it had been suppressed, and he charges the Jews of Mecca with this guilt. But in meeting this popular objection he unconsciously injures his own cause; for if the Scriptures have been corrupted, they cannot, as he affirms they do, confirm his own revelation. "We believe," he says, (XXIX. 51.) "in that which has been sent down to us, and in that which has been sent down to you, and our God and your God is one."

آمَنَّا بِالَّذِي أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْنَا وَأُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكُمْ وَإِلَهُنَا وَإِلَهُكُمْ وَاحِدٌ

He also maintains, that as the Gospel confirmed the previous revelation to Moses, so it does the subsequent one made to himself. It would seem, therefore, that he limited his charge of corrupting the Scriptures to the suppression of predictions of himself and his mission; his followers, however, reject the whole as spurious. Nevertheless, they are ready to except from this condemnation any passages which they think can be made to tell in their favour. The following were cited by their early controversialists, and are continually repeated: they need only to be stated, to shew how vain is the attempt. The first is the commencement of the hymn in which Moses blesses the children of Israel (Deut. xxxiii.): "*God came from Sinai, and rose up from Seer* ساعير *unto them. He shined from Mount Paran, and He came with ten thousand of holy ones: from his right hand went forth for them a fiery law.*" The context shews a reference to a single event, namely, the promulgation of the law; and these three mountains must have been peaks of the same chain. But Moslem divines, without any attempt at reasoning, assume that the three dispensations are figuratively represented by these mountains; the first, of course, the Jewish; the second the Christian; and the third the Mohammedan, because there is a mount Paran near Mecca. But to establish their interpretation they are forced to assume that Sair is a mountain in Galilee, an assertion in which they derive no assistance from geography. The second passage is from the fiftieth Psalm,

and, we may add, is still more forced, for it is absurd to suppose, because the Prophet's name is the past participle of the verb "to praise," therefore it, and like derivations from this root, must, wherever they occur, refer to him.

يظهر الله من صهيون اكليلاً محموداً

"God shewed from Sion a praised crown."

This is, indeed, the sense of the Syriac version, yet it is not so rendered in the Arabic; and the idea of praise is not found in the original, which is rendered, "Out of Sion the perfection of beauty hath God appeared."

Of the two credentials which are justly required of a divine mission, miracles and predictions, Mohammed, by his own confession, did not possess the first, and we have shewn that he can establish no claim to the second; and as he was not the subject of prophecy, so he was not himself, like Jesus, or even Moses, endowed with that gift. His assumed revelation, made to a mere man, must rest on its intrinsic excellence. Christ, on the contrary, has been, from the first to the last book of the Hebrew Scriptures, the grand theme of prophecy, and that with a such specification of his character, his work, and the minute particulars of his death, as can apply to no other person. The Koran allows that He came with manifest signs, and enumerates among them the curing the sick and raising the dead, while it declares Mohammed to be but a mere man raised up to be an admonisher of his brethren. Jesus is indeed represented as a creature who claims to be no more than the servant of God, yet he is announced as not like other sons of men, but (IV.) as the Word of God conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Him; and his being always called the Son of Mary, intimates that he had no father. Beidhan says he is therefore the Word, because created by the word spoken; but Gazali, n his Confession, uses language not unlike that of the Greek Fathers, speaking of it as eternal, subsisting in God's essence, ازلي قايم بزاته, and unlike the speech of his creatures, which is spoken by the tongue and committed to writing. Mohammed, the Traditions tell us, to qualify

him for his office, had his body opened and his soul washed from the stain of Adam's guilt. But Jesus is declared to have been conceived and born without sin. His crucifixion is denied, but his exaltation to heaven is affirmed; but he is to come again at the close of the dispensation, not, as we believe, in glorious majesty to judge both quick and dead, but to destroy Antichrist, and to prepare the way for the return of the Arabian Prophet. The message, it is reasonable to suppose, is proportioned to the dignity of the messenger, and so argues the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who, beginning with declaring that God, who spoke in times of old through the Prophets, has in these last days spoken through his Son, goes on to say, "*Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip, for how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation.* The conclusion is of course denied by Mohammed, for the admission of it would be fatal to him, for he professes to come with no new revelation, only with a revival of the religion of Abraham. Even this we deny; for we maintain that the religion of the Father of the faithful was not mere Deism, but belief in the promise of salvation through the future sacrifice of the Son of God, and that he rejoiced when he saw it typically exhibited to him in the substitution of the ram for his own son. The Korán demands obedience to the commandments of God as the condition of salvation, but these commandments are not represented, to use the Psalmist's language, as exceeding broad: they have neither the strictness of the Mosaic law, nor the perfection of Christian ethics; and the forgiveness of the shortcomings of the Moslems, by the mercy of God, as no other grounds for forgiveness are assigned than his goodwill, makes him (as all systems but the Christian must) the minister of sin. Mohammed could never have read the Scriptures, for he speaks of them as if they had been sent down from heaven, as the Korán professes to be; and he even speaks of books which have never existed, as in this passage— "Say we believe in God, and in that which has been sent down to us, and in that which came down to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac,

and Jacob, and the tribes of Israel, and that which came to Moses, and Jesus, and the Prophets, from their Lord, and make no difference between them." His gross ignorance both of the Law and of Christianity could not have been imagined except on his own shewing, for he speaks of them as codes, as if the former was not intermixed with the history of the Israelites, and that there was not one, but four gospels; none of which could have been sent down to Jesus, since they are narratives of his life and death, and resurrection and ascension, and must have been written after those events. The Epistles seem not to have been known to him, even by name, and he is evidently ignorant of their contents, and of the very essence of Christianity, for he adopts the absurd notion of the Gnostics, that Jesus was taken up alive into heaven, while another was crucified in his stead; thus acknowledging that the doctrine of the Cross was to him not the power or wisdom of God, but foolishness, as it was to the Jew and the idolater.

Notwithstanding the guesses which have been repeated from age to age of the assistance of Christians in the composition of the Korán, the book itself seems to shew that all his knowledge of facts was derived from Jewish traditions and apocryphal gospels. Thus, by additions and alterations he has deprived the interesting history of Joseph of the attraction which it possesses in the Bible narrative, without in any degree strengthening his own cause, and, instead of enlarging on the genuine miracles of our Lord, he specifies his speaking in the cradle, and his making sparrows out of clay, and giving them life. Such miracles we may read in apocryphal gospels still preserved, and many of his variations from the Old-Testament history may be traced to Jewish authorities. The remainder, we may therefore presume, were derived from the same source, and believed by himself to be true. And now, if the Jewish and Christian narratives in the Scripture be true, the contradictory statements in the Korán must be false, and consequently that book cannot have been a divine revelation.

Our Saviour condemned his own generation for misinterpreting the Scriptures, but he never said that they had corrupted

them. St. Paul observes that it was their glory that to them were committed the oracles of God, and we have reason to believe that they were faithful to their trust. Their reverence, indeed, in every age, for the integrity of the text, has been unexampled, and to it we owe the wonderful conformity to one another of the Hebrew manuscripts that have been collated. There is no reason to suppose that the Jews of Arabia were an exception; and, even if disposed to alter their copies, their fraud would have been of no avail without the co-operation of the Christians, who, by their spiritual birth, had inherited their Scriptures, agreeing in the text, while they differed in their interpretation of it. The limited vision of the Arabian Prophet did not extend beyond the narrow circle in which he moved, and it never occurred to him that the Jews were found in all the principal cities of the Roman empire, which, long before his time, had embraced the Christian faith; and that those two bodies, jealous of each other, offered the best guarantee for the integrity of the ancient Scriptures. The Jews still carefully preserve their prophecies of the Messiah, though they cannot fail to be embarrassed by their application to Jesus, which in some instances they can only evade by the fanciful invention of two Messiahs, one to suffer, and the other to reign, and to be born in different tribes. Surely if they have not yielded to the temptation of altering some of these, it cannot be supposed that they would blot out the predictions of another Prophet. The modern Mohammedans, who repeat this objection, ought to be able to shew us some copies that bear out this assertion, and, if candid, they would allow that the objection is untenable. It should be explained to them that it is a fact, of which, as controversialists, they ought not to be ignorant, that the Scriptures have from the beginning been read out in considerable portions in the respective religious assemblies of Jews and Christians; that copies must have been soon multiplied; that they have been quoted as Scripture by a long series of authors, beginning with those who had known the first successors of the apostles; that they had been translated into the Latin and Syriac probably before the end of the first century; and that in no controversy did

either party bring forth in its support a text which was not allowed by the other.

Alterations, then, of any importance could not have escaped detection, and we might without hesitation have accepted as genuine the Scriptures which, as now printed, we hear or read. Still it is a satisfaction to know that many manuscripts, both of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, are extant, of great antiquity, and some of the latter are pronounced, by those who, from study of the subject, are competent to form a judgment, anterior to the time of Mohammed. The Old Testament was translated into Greek long before the coming of Christ; and the Samaritans, who have been the rivals of the Jews ever since their return from Babylon, have also a Pentateuch, certainly not altered after that era, and only in a few points, and those not bearing upon doctrine, differing from the Jewish copy.

It would be easy to prove from these premises the substantial integrity of the text of the Old and New Testaments, but the Moslems have of late been told of various readings, and their informers dishonestly, or from ignorance, magnify their importance. It should be explained to them that there are none in the Old Testament, and very few in the New, that affect any doctrine. The collations that have been made attest the diligence of Biblical critics; and their general consent to exclude from St. John's first Epistle, notwithstanding the internal evidence in its favour, and the support of the Latin version, the formal declaration of the Trinity, is an incontrovertible instance of their honesty. The only remaining doctrinal texts are positive declarations of the divinity of the Saviour, but both doctrines may be proved from other passages: and, as it has been justly observed, the divinity of Jesus is interwoven into the very frame and texture of the Bible, and written in it as with a sunbeam.

The Moslems, however, do not deny that these doctrines are contained in our present copies. The great point in arguing with them is to shew the impossibility of any material variation in a volume which has been preserved by all Christians, however they may differ in its interpretation, as their

common property, which they would not suffer to be altered.

We accept the Korán as it is presented to us; but were we to call in question its authenticity, how much less would its advocates have to say in its support. The Korán professes to be a direct revelation from God to one man. Our books were written, during a period of fifteen centuries, by several, moved by the Holy Ghost; and if the authenticity of any one were doubted, and we consented to reject it, the same doctrines could be proved from the rest. The facts in the gospels are the basis of the reasonings and exhortations in the epistles; and both, by shewing the fulfilment of many prophecies, confirm the books in which they occur. But it would not be easy to satisfy an objector that the Korán, edited by the Khalif Othman from the copy made by his predecessor, Abubekr, and committed to the custody of Hafsa, one of the Prophet's widows, was substantially the same as that which he himself communicated in his lifetime. We read of no careful collection of his numerous revelations, though he had so many secretaries; and if we ask how it happens that there should be so few and such unimportant various readings, the answer is, that Othman ordered all the copies that differed from the one in Hafsa's keeping to be destroyed. The chronological order would have best conveyed the state of mind of the author, and this would seem to have been the natural arrangement, as we are told that some chapters were revealed at Mecca, and others at Medina. But commentators inform us, I believe without stating their authority, that there are in both interpolations of verses revealed at the other city. The transitions, also, to different subjects are frequent, and we may suspect that many of these chapters have been subsequently put together. The difficulty, probably, of carrying out a better arrangement, led the compilers simply to class them according to their length. The Korán, during Mohammed's lifetime, was read, and recited, and committed to memory, so that we may reasonably receive it as genuine, and believe that none would presume to add to what they respected as a divine revelation. Omissions are more easily conceived,

and we know of an important one, on no less an authority than that of the Khalif Omar. The worst feature of the Korán, and which, duly considered, is fatal to its claim of a revelation, is its palpable contradictions, and an attempt is made to save its credit by the doctrine of abrogation; but this shews the unsatisfactory arrangement of the book, for the abrogated verses sometimes follow these that abrogate. Such a theory is very convenient, but the unbeliever has clearly a right to ask why God should make, and at such short intervals, contradictory revelations, assigning, too, no reason for the change.

Haji Khalfa, in his encyclopædia of oriental learning, has, among his numerous branches of the interpretation of the Korán, one on the knowledge of abrogating and abrogated verses; and Maracci, in his elaborate edition of the Korán, cites an instructive passage from Abu Alkasim Hebat Allah, from which we learn that there are no less than 225 abrogated commands. This is no ingenious modern device to solve the difficulty and save the reputation of the revelation, for the contradictions are so palpable, and so important, that they must from the first have been brought forward by Mohammed's opponents. And he himself thus endeavours to meet the objection: "When we substitute a verse in the place of a verse, (and God knows best the fitness of that which he sends down,) unbelievers say thou art only a forger."

و اذا بدّلنا اية مكان اية و اللم اعلم بما ينزل تالوا انما انت مفتر

This fact, which is undeniable, must convince any impartial inquirer of the human origin of the Korán, and the absurdity is heightened on the supposition of its being an eternal transcript of the divine will, especially when no cause is assigned for the change. Thus the worshipper had been first commanded to turn in prayer to Jerusalem, and within a year the Kiblah, or place to which he is to look, is changed to Mecca; from the temple of Solomon to that of Abraham. This arbitrary change ought to shake the faith of the Moslem. Those who reject the authority of the Prophet can easily explain it, on the supposition that, after a short trial, he found he had more to hope

from his pagan countrymen than from the Jews. He says, in explanation, that every sect has a tract in heaven towards which its members turn; but inconsistently occurs, a little earlier, this verse, which the context shews must be abrogated: "To God belong the east and the west: therefore, wherever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God, for God is omnipresent and omniscient."

وَلِلَّهِ الْمَشْرِقُ وَالْمَغْرِبُ فَأَيْنَمَا تُوَلُّوا فَثَمَّ وَجْهُ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

A still more important change appears in Mohammed himself. As a preacher at Mecca, he claims no more than toleration for his religion; but at Medina, as a prince, he declares Islam to be the only true faith, and appeals no longer to argument, but to the sword.

In the 21st verse of the 5th Sura, Christians and Jews are accused of considering themselves to be the chosen people of God, while they might easily conclude from the divine punishments with which they were visited that they stood in the same position with other men whose merits would not be determined till the day of judgment. The remark follows that God had impressed a particular mark upon each nation, and as it had not pleased him to unite them all in one religion, it followed that each nation would be judged by its own law. The practical precept is deduced that they only who have transgressed the law vouchsafed unto them shall be considered guilty: and in the same Surah it is declared that no fear shall come on any one among Moslems, Christians, Jews, and even Sabians, who believes in God and the last day, and has acted justly, and that he shall not be afflicted. At Medina he entirely changed his tone: these liberal sentiments are abrogated and now—

وَمَن لَّمْ يُؤْمِن بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ فَإِنَّا أَعْتَدْنَا لِلْكَافِرِينَ سَعِيرًا

"For those who do not believe in God and his prophet, certainly for the unbelievers we have prepared hell." (XLVIII. 13.)

إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِآيَاتِنَا سَوْفَ نُصْلِيهِمْ نَارًا كُلَّمَا نَضِجَتْ جُلُودُهُمْ بَدَّلْنَاهُمْ جُلُودًا غَيْرَهَا لِيَذُوقُوا ٱلْعَذَابَ

"Verily those who disbelieve our signs we will surely broil in the fire: as often as their skins shall be burned we will give them other skins, that they may taste the torment." (IV. 59.)

وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ ٱلْإِسْلَامِ دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ وَهُوَ فِي ٱلْآخِرَةِ مِنَ ٱلْخَاسِرِينَ

"Whoever followeth any religion but Islam it shall not be accepted, and in the next world he shall be of those who perish.

With abrogation may be classed the Prophet's express exemption from the law which he binds upon his followers, which would be considered a large indulgence if we did not know that the Arabs, before his time, were under no restrictions. Four wives is understood to be the allowed number, but it is expressly said in the Korán that it is his peculiar privilege to marry as many as he pleases, above the rest of the true believers (XXXIII. 49); and he appears, from good authority, to have had at least twenty-one. To us these facts speak for themselves. We are only astonished that they did not break the charm in his lifetime, and that even now they do not diminish the reverence or shake the faith of his followers.

Mohammed, as the seal of the Prophets, claims, both for himself and his message, a superiority which he is unable to substantiate. An impartial observer, one who is neither Christian nor Moslem, must allow his inferiority even to Moses, a man like himself; and though the Korán rejects the divinity of Christ, yet it raises him above humanity, and thereby renders his subordination absurd and untenable. If we ask in what respects the Korán excels the Gospel we can get no satisfactory reply. It is nothing but an authoritative republication of the religion of nature, the revelation of one God, the

creator and governor of the world, who requires obedience to his commands, which, in a future state, he will reward with eternal happiness. Islam, therefore, places man under the covenant of works, which he is unable to keep, and holds out neither the promise of spiritual aid, nor any reasonable expectation of the pardon of his transgressions, or of omissions of duty.

The Mohammedan standard of morality is far higher than that of the Hindoo or Chinese, or any other people who do not walk in the light of revelation. It surpasses, too, that of the heathen philosophers, even of Aristotle or of the Stoics, because it derives obligation, not as they were forced to do, from the fitness of things, its suitableness to a rational being, or the inherent loveliness of virtue, but from the will of God, creator and governor of mankind, of duty to whom, the most important branch of morality, they were necessarily ignorant. Still it will bear no comparison with that of the Law, and yet less with that of the Gospel, which developed the true principle of the former, and extends the prohibition from overt acts to the desires from which they spring. We learn from the highest authority that Moses allowed the Israelites, on account of the hardness of their hearts, a facility of divorce, contrary to the design of the Creator; and we know that, from the example of Abraham and Jacob, it silently tolerated polygamy. The Korán expressly allows four wives, and sets no limitation to the number of concubines; and, by a strange law, requires that no husband can take back a repudiated wife till she has married another and been divorced by him. The object of the law we may presume to be to check the practice of a hasty, inconsiderate dismissal of a wife. Retaliation, and the avenging of bloodshed, which Moses found prevalent, he did not abolish, but modify, and these are retained by Mohammed; though he forbade female infanticide and other barbarous and superstitious customs of his idolatrous countrymen. The special command to exterminate the Canaanites he pleaded, to justify the use of the sword as an instrument of conversion when argument had failed to produce its proper

effect. In the earlier and better days of his adversity in Mecca, he had disclaimed any other method than persuasion, and even declared that it was not necessary for salvation to embrace the true religion, for God would accept all who, under any system of faith, endeavoured to discover his will, and to obey him. But the chapters which profess to have been revealed to him at Medina, where he reigned without control, breathe a less liberal spirit, requiring all to submit to Islam as the only road to salvation. Such a fundamental change excites a strong suspicion against the legislator, and an argument against the inspiration of the Korán; for reason confirms Balaam's declaration that God is not a son of man that he should repent: He who knows and has arranged all things from the beginning changeth not. And a method of conversion that was allowed afterwards, could hardly have been objectionable before. The authorized use of the sword invests with a peculiar glory the champion of the faith, and if he falls in a religious war he is reckoned in the army of martyrs, and admitted into immediate bliss. It was the conviction of this doctrine, strengthened by the assurance of a divine predestination, which overruled the result of battles, that rendered the Moslem soldiers invincible, and tended so powerfully, when the faith was fresh and vigorous, to spread Islam rapidly in every direction. With more mercy and prudence than consistency, the alternative of a capitation tax was offered to the conquered, and, in consequence, those denominations of Christians who were treated as heretics by the dominant party in Syria and Egypt preferred the supremacy of a Moslem governor to the yoke of the Emperor. In many respects the Korán imitates the Pentateuch, but its spirit is comparatively from the earth. With all its declarations of the unity of the Godhead, it has no equivalent to the call to love Him with all the powers both of the heart and of the understanding; and though among the epithets of the supreme Being, the merciful, the compassionate, and the gracious, are intermixed with those that announce his power, intelligence, and perfection, it is not as an affectionate father, but as a just and merciful sovereign, that God appears in the Korán; and the Moslems that deserve the

name are his respectful and obedient servants, not his adopted children, and the brethren of his Son. Intercession is acknowledged in words, but can have no reality when undertaken by a mere man, however excellent he may be; and the Korán rejects with horror the idea that God has begotten a Son, and has no notion of the efficacy of sacrifice, which alone, in conjunction with his divine nature, enables the Man Christ Jesus to be the Mediator between God and man. The superiority of Christian ethics to any other will be allowed at once by all competent judges of such questions, and admits of no discussion; but, independently of its intrinsic excellence, it has two special recommendations which no other code can boast. The first is, that its precepts are all embodied in a living and perfect example of excellence, whereas the most enthusiastic admirers of Mohammed must believe him to have been an imperfect and inconsistent character. After making the most indulgent allowance for his position, his conduct respecting women convicts him of licentiousness and duplicity; and though he might honestly proclaim the unity of the Deity, there was presumption and selfishness in making his own apostleship its inseparable adjunct. The best system of ethics is in itself powerless: the imagination may admire, and the judgment may approve, but without an adequate inducement it must remain an inoperative, a dead letter. For who will have resolution to deny himself, in order to conform to laws which would restrain his passions, and sometimes oppose his interests, and even his reputation? The virtues that promote the welfare of society, as charity almost always, and sometimes justice, are popular; but a stricter life than that of the generality, notwithstanding prudence and forbearance, will provoke censure, since it conveys a silent reproof which free livers cannot endure. Now Mohammed had no higher motives to enforce obedience than those common to all religions—the joys of paradise and heaven, and the torments of hell, on which he is continually expatiating, and which he describes with the minute accuracy of an eye-witness. For their reality we have only the testimony of a man like ourselves, who, if his word be doubted, cannot appeal

to prophecy or miracle, or any attestation to his veracity. Whereas the apostles persuade men knowing the terrors of the Lord, and, by the promise of such happiness as eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor human understanding has conceived, yet is revealed to believers by the Spirit. Our Saviour, by his resurrection, brought life and immortality to light, and this provided a strong motive to obedience; and by his ascension he obtained the graces as well as the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit. His Gospel also exhibits a constraining motive in his disinterested philanthropy, surpassing knowledge, which led him to die for mankind while yet, as sinners, his enemies; and to reconcile, by his painful and ignominious sacrifice of himself, once for all, upon the altar of his cross, men to his Father, and his Father to men. Love to him, their Redeemer and Intercessor, their Victim and their Priest, their King and their future Judge, is the governing principle that is to regulate their lives, and produce a steady, consistent, and faithful obedience to all his commandments. "*The love of Christ*," says one apostle, "*constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that He died for all, that they who live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them, and rose again.*" 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. And another apostle writes (1 John iv. 21), "*And this commandment have we from Him, Let him who loveth God, love his brother also.*" And again, says St. Paul (Romans xiii. 10, 9), "*Love is the fulfilling of the law; for this, thou shalt not commit adultery, for this thou shalt not kill, for this thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*"

If a godly and righteous life is to entitle a man to eternal happiness, the Christian has many advantages over the Moslem, who cannot deny that his law is purer and more comprehensive than his own; that it also exhibits a more complete pattern of obedience, and is enforced by better promises of divine aid, and recommended by more effectual motives.

The Law, however, is perfect, and requires perfect obedience; and he who perfectly fulfils it in every particular may claim eternal happiness of right, as the reward of his obedience, and a just God will allow his claim. But where and when has any individual lived who could put forward such pretensions? None will venture to deny, that in some respects they require forgiveness; but the uncompromising language of the Law is "Do this and live," and St. Paul tells the Galations, iii. 10, that it is written, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the Law, to do them." A perfect law, clearly defining duty, but allowing no excuse for the least failure, and holding out no assistance towards keeping it, is calculated to drive an awakened sinner to despair; and those to whom the only way of salvation has not been made known, take refuge either in self-imposed austerities, or in self-denying works, or in any forms of will-worship by which they hope to appease the wrath of a justly-offended God. His holiness cannot pardon without an adequate compensation, and to provide this, and to pacify, in consequence, a disturbed conscience, has been the endeavour of every false system of religion. The Gospel alone, in conformity with its meaning of good news, shews, by the voluntary sacrifice of the Redeemer upon the cross, that God can be just even in the act of justifying for his sake the ungodly; but then it can only be those who accept his finished salvation, because the Father has laid upon his co-equal Son the iniquity of all believers, and it is by His *stripes that we are healed* (Isaiah liii. 5). By his own works no man living can be justified. Salvation, consequently, must be entirely of grace (favour): and he who has discovered his own sinfulness and the holiness of God, will renounce all pretensions to merit, and, throwing himself unreservedly upon sovereign mercy, will joyfully accept the proffered robe of the Redeemer's righteousness, in which alone he can venture to appear before God.

Mohammed disclaims the notion of having received a new revelation: for he again and again declares that he is sent only to restore the religion of his progenitor, Abraham the orthodox. It

is manifest, that though he had some notion of his history, gathered, I conceive, not from the perusal of Genesis, but from conversation with Jews, and the traditions of his tribe, he perceived no pre-eminent act of faith in his intended sacrifice of his son; and though he applies to him his scriptural title, the Friend of God, he has no conception of the propriety of its application. So eminent was the faith of Abraham, that he is justly called the Father of the Faithful, and this, his characterestic virtue, was exercised continually. For though the offering of his only-begotten son, believing God was able to raise him up again from the dead, may be considered as the crowning act, his whole life was a life of faith, from the time that the Lord said unto him, "*Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, into a land which I will shew unto thee*" (Acts vii. 3.) When the birth of a son was foretold to him in the extreme age both of his wife and himself, the apostle Paul tells the Romans "that *he staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, being strong in faith, giving glory to God, and being fully persuaded that what He had promised He was able to perform*," and therefore he adds, "*it was imputed to him for righteousness*" (iv. 20—22). Paul goes on to give the result of this faith: "*Now it was not written for his sake alone that it was imputed to him, but for us also to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on Him who raised up Jesus from the dead; who was delivered up for our offences, and was raised again for our justification.*" "*Know ye, therefore*," he tells the Galatians (iii. 7—9) that "*they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed; so then they which are of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.*" He proceeds to shew, that if a man be justified it cannot be by the law, which requires perfect obedience, which he finds it impossible to render, but by faith; adding, that "*Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of law, being made a curse for us, that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles, through Jesus*

Christ, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith." It is desirable that Moslems should be prevailed upon to read, in Genesis, the history of Abraham; since they will there find that it was not Ishmael, the child of Hagar the concubine, as their commentators maintain, who had been long before sent away, but Isaac, the promised offspring, the son of Sarah his wife, that he was called upon to sacrifice. This substitution of the elder son naturally recommends itself to the Arabians, who claim Ishmael for their progenitor, but it is rather suggested than affirmed by the Korán; and certainly, in the authentic history, it is Isaac whom he is called upon to sacrifice, and it is in Christ, the descendant of that son, that, according to the promise made to him, all the nations of the earth shall be blessed. He is the subject of this and all the spiritual promises; and there is none to Ishmael, any more than to Esau, like him, the progenitor of a nation. Abraham had, indeed, prayed that in Ishmael all nations might be blessed, but the spiritual blessing was reserved for his legitimate son, (*in Isaac shall thy seed be called,*) while far greater temporal prosperity has been assigned to the descendants of Ishmael. The Israelites never, even in their highest estate, possessed the whole of their promised land: the Ishmaelites, under the successors of Mohammed, soon conquered Persia, and wrested Syria and Egypt from the Roman empire. Abraham had grown attached to Ishmael, and when promised a son by Sarah he exclaimed, instead of expressing his thanks to God, "*O might Ishmael live before thee!*" Gen. xvii. 18. But God had determined contrary to his wish. "*With Isaac,*" He said, "*I will establish my covenant for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him.*" Worldly prosperity was to be the blessing of Ishmael. "*And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee. Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.*" (Gen. xvii. 18—20.) Abraham abounded in good works, but it was not they, but his faith, that was imputed to him for righteousness; and it is not the Moslem, who endeavours to please God by his own righteousness, and must

fail in the hopeless attempt, but the Christian, who by faith lays hold of the Saviour's righteousness to clothe him, that is of the religion of Abraham.

The morality of the Gospel, which extends to the thoughts and desires, and, instead of being limited to overt acts, of which alone human tribunals can take cognizance, seeks to purify the heart out of which they proceed, and in which are the issues of life, must be allowed by the unprejudiced to be superior to that of the Korán; and I believe the most bigoted Moslems have never called in question its excellence, or denied the prophetic character and superhuman nature of the Messiah, though they inconsistently regard him as subordinate to the promulgator of Islam. The higher the standard of course the more difficult it is to attain to it, and man cannot reach even that of the Korán in his own strength. The Moslems maintain that their Prophet is the Messiah's promised substitute, but have transformed the Comforter and Advocate, the Spirit of holiness, into a human prince, who goes forth conquering and to conquer with carnal weapons. They hold forth no spiritual aid, but leave man to the direction of the book, which, if it points out the road, and is a lamp unto the feet, cannot warn him when he deviates from the strait and narrow path, or give him consolation in his trials, and strengthen him to endure the journey. To him who has transgressed the commandments the Korán can offer no more than any man's own unassisted understanding suggests, that is, a reliance on the goodness of God, whose mercy is over all his works, but who, even in his providential operations in this world, must appear to the thoughtful transgressor at the best, according to His own declaration to his servant Moses, as one who, though he *forgives iniquity and sin, will by no means clear the guilty* (Ex. xxxiv. 7.) And what more could any of the sons of men, even if commissioned by the Almighty to reveal his will, communicate, than the answer of Balaam to the king of Moab, recorded by Micah, vi. 8— "*He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?*" To fulfil, as here

expressed, the duty of justice and benevolence to men, and to conduct ourselves as we ought towards our God, is a summary of morals which the judgment approves, but, at the same time, finds so exceeding broad as to render it in its full extent impracticable; and it makes no provision for those who have neglected it, and are conscious of having too often, not only omitted to do what is right, but even done what is wrong. The sinner whose understanding is not obscured by a wicked life, will acknowledge, while sensible that he has frequently yielded to his passions, that the *commandment is holy, just, and good* (Rom. vii. 12.); but he feels that such a law, from its very perfection, may well be called by the apostle, who says that "*he should not have known lust if the law had not said 'Thou shalt not covet, the ministration of death and of condemnation* (2 Cor. iii. 7, 8). Happily he has taught us that there is *no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus,* that is, *to those who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made* the genuine believer *free from the law of sin and death.* But others have still reason to say with Balac, "*Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousand of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgressions, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?*" Natural religion, as it is called, that is, religion as it is delineated in the ancient classics, or as exhibited in the reports of modern travellers who have associated with the heathen of our day, is always of a piacular character. The wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness to which the human heart responds, appears to have been transmitted by tradition to all the descendants of Noah, wherever dispersed, and in whatever stage of civilization. An angry God, called by the father of history (Herodotus, iii. 40.) an envious being, required, as they, whether barbarous or civilized, alike believed, to be appeased by costly sacrifices; and in times of extraordinary calamity the altar was, as it were, sanctified by human blood. Such sacri-

fices we know were common among the Phœnicians, and their colonists the Carthaginians; and probably the custom prevailed in Caanan when Abraham's faith was tried by the command to offer up his son, through whom blessing was promised, not only to his family, but to the whole race of mankind. The Greek drama affords an affecting exhibition of the practice in the immolation of the daughters of both Priam and Agamemnon. It was endured by the Athenians, whom we regard as so intellectual, during the Persian war; it occurs, also, in Roman History, and was only abolished in the empire, as late as the second century of the Christian era, by Hadrian.* Thus we see that the necessity of a propitiation was everywhere acknowledged; yet, strange as it seems, the belief in the promised atoning victim had died away, and was only dimly visible in the Mosaic ritual. That law testified, that "*without shedding of blood there is no remission*" (Heb. ix. 22); and before its introduction, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in whatever part of Canaan they pitched their tents, erected altars unto the Lord; and a sacrifice was the first act of Noah on quitting the ark and taking possession of the renewed and desolate world, and we know that it was accepted. Reason, unenlightened from above, would surely never have inferred that the slaughter of animals could be an act of worship which their Creator would approve, and might well adopt the Psalmist's language, "*Thinkest thou I will drink bulls' blood, or eat the flesh of goats? If I feel hungry I will not tell thee, for all the beasts of the forest are mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills.*" It is a reasonable presumption that the skins with which God clothed our first parents were those of animals which He had instructed them to sacrifice; and we can hardly doubt that the cause why Abel's animal sacrifice was accepted, while Cain's thanksgiving offering of the fruits of the earth was rejected, was, that he com-

* We learn from Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, that the people compelled him to sacrifice three Persian captives to Bacchus Omestes (the Devourer); and in the life of Marcellus, that in obedience to an oracle at the commencement of the war with the Gauls, a man and a woman of that nation were buried alive. Even in the reign of Diocletian, a man was sacrificed at Rome itself, on the feast of Jupiter Latiaris.

plied with a divine ordinance; for, unless commanded, I cannot understand how, in the epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 4.), it can be described to be an act of faith. Sacrifice is the foundation of true religion, and requires a *priest*. Christianity has neither, because the only real Priest (who was typified by Aaron) offered up himself, once for all, upon the altar of the cross, and we have only a thankful commemoration of it by the Christian *minister*. The Korán, it is true, sanctions the practice both at the pilgrimage and at the two feasts, but, like circumcision, which it never mentions, it was retained by Mohammed simply because he had been accustomed to it; for he never alludes to its efficacy, and therefore with the Moslems it is an unmeaning imitation of Abraham and their Pagan ancestors. This shews his utter ignorance of the spirit of the Jewish and Christian systems, though partially, and only partially, acquainted with the historical facts on which they rest. And this is the more extraordinary as his own father had been devoted to death, and was redeemed by a costly ransom.

The Divine Unity, as we have seen, is the grand dogma of Islam, and this would recommend it to the philosophical professor of polytheism; yet it is degraded and weakened by its connection with heathen practices, to which it is pledged both by the Korán and the Traditions. The pilgrimage must appear to be an unreasonable burden to a thoughtful Moslem in a distant land, who has been taught that prayer is as acceptable at his home as at Mecca; and the only reason for the merit of pilgrimage is the unproved assertion that the Caaba was built by Abraham, whose residence in Canaan, instead of Arabia, may be shewn from his detailed history in the Bible. To this Deism is to be opposed the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity, which the Korán so strangely misrepresents. Not that I recommend it should be brought forward as a dogma apart from the scheme of salvation, but to indicate that scheme, by shewing that it was revealed to establish the foundation on which it rests. This will prepare the way for the doctrine of the twofold nature of the Saviour; and the reception of this stumblingblock to reason and pride the Korán itself facilitates, by its exaltation of our Lord above humanity. In the opinion

of Möhler,* the Korán has ascribed such authority to the Gospel, and has so failed in establishing its own superiority, that, through that allowed authority, it will overthrow its own, and consequently retains in itself the elements of its own destruction, as soon as freedom of thought has been more widely circulated, and is directed by enlightened and spiritually-minded Christian missionaries. Then the Christianity partially admitted into the Korán will work out its own completion, and it will be manifest that Islam is a preparatory scheme, and that Mohammed is really the servant of Christ. This assertion can be sustained by facts, for instances are not wanting of thinking Mohammedans who have discovered the various and essential differences between the Korán and the Gospels, and have perceived that Christianity alone restores the original relation between God and man. What more easily forces itself upon the mind than the persuasion, that, according to the Scriptures, from the fall to the appearance of Christ all revelations, and all historical events, point only to Him, and that therefore all prophets before Him could only have been His servants, and all after Him could only be His chosen friends and assistants? It is consequently evident that the manifold relation in which, according to the Korán, Christ is placed to Mohammed, and the Gospel to Islam, offers to missionaries the most desirable points of connection from which they may at once advance without any difficulty into the very centre of Christianity.

Christian morality, as we have observed, is perfect, and this might be expected in a revelation from the Son of God, whether teaching in person, or through his inspired disciples; yet his teaching was only an incidental blessing: it was not the object of his mission. Nor did he become incarnate to bring *life and immortality to light* by his own resurrection; and by *shewing himself alive after his crucifixion by many infallible proofs*, though he thus proved what reason could only conjecture, and strengthens the faith of his people. The Gospel, the good news he brought, was the reconciliation through his death (which his two-fold nature rendered efficacious) of God to men, and of men to God. He was the *Lamb of God slain*,

* Relation of Islam to the Gospel, p. 39.

in the divine decree, *before the foundation of the world* (Rev. xiii. 8.), and manifested in due time to take away the sins of the world. Thus alone can the Father shew mercy without any impeachment of his justice, and his holiness shines the brighter, because those whom he justifies he sanctifies. Thus, as predicted in the psalm, "*mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other.*" It is perhaps one of the strongest symptoms of the corruption of our nature that genuine Christianity is so distasteful, that it is with the utmost difficulty that sinners can be convinced of the sovereign efficacy of this divine remedy, which so far exceeds their expectations, and, I fear I may add, their desire. For man, proud and ungrateful, is desirous of performing a part at least in his own salvation. Not to speak of the gross errors of Romanists, who trust. in some degree at least to their own mortifications of the flesh in this life, and look forward to the completion of the work from their sufferings in purgatory, too many Protestants plead their sincerity, and talk of a mitigated law, and express a hope that their imperfect services will be accepted for the sake of Christ, whose merit will make up for their deficiency. But of these ingenious devices of theologians Scripture knows nothing. Our own best works are imperfect, even if not mixed with sin in themselves or in their motives, and can never bear the scrutiny of the omniscient judge. Before His tribunal perfect righteousness alone can appear, and, thanks be to God, the redeemed will be presented faultless, because clothed in the unspotted robe of the Redeemer. The honour of the law and of the lawgiver is thus secured; and though, from St. Paul's days to ours, the natural man has ever charged the doctrines of grace with Antinomianism, it will be found on inquiry that they alone produce and ensure, as necessary consequences, sanctification. These doctrines, which had been developed by Augustine, were never altogether lost in the west; but in the eastern churches there had been no revival of the truth, and Mohammed had no conception of it, for the epistles were to him a sealed book, and he would never hear it from Khadijah's aged cousin Waraka, or any of the monks

from whom he is supposed to have gleaned the little he knew of Christianity. Had his knowledge of it been more complete, he might have proved an heresiarch, but he would hardly have come forward with a special revelation, which, in fact, reveals no truth not already known to the believer, while it ignores some that are essential to his salvation. The believer is complete in Christ, and he, therefore, not Mohammed, is the seal of prophecy. God, in earlier ages, announced his will from time to time through prophets; but in the last day, as the Christian and final dispensation is called, he has spoken through his Son, who is the express image of his person, and a ray from his original light. He has revealed all that concerns us: what need, then is there of Mohammed or any other subsequent envoy? Jesus has not only atoned for our sins, but, through his exceeding great and precious promises, and the help purchased by him of the Holy Spirit, we are gradually restored to the divine image, and are enabled to render cheerful, willing obedience to the law, as a rule of life, though no longer a covenant, the breach of which must condemn. He has accomplished more than we could have imagined, and all that we could desire, through love, surpassing our comprehension, which led him to die for us while yet enemies to him, and to deliver us from a captivity from which, till touched by his constraining grace, we had no wish to be free. The faithful preaching of the law convicts of sin, for it detects its workings, and demonstrates our inability to keep it. The contrite sinner perceives his sinfulness, and pleads for mercy; and the Holy Spirit teaches him to look out of himself for relief to the righteousness of God, witnessed both by the law and by the prophets, even the righteousness which is by faith in Christ Jesus, and which will be imputed to all, as it was to Abraham. The apostle tells us that there is in this respect no difference between Jew and Gentile, because both have sinned and come short of the glory of God; and therefore all who will be accepted at the judgment-day, must have been, in this life, justified, that is, though guilty, treated as innocent, because God has set forth Jesus Christ as a propitiation through faith in his blood, that He might at the same time

be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus. At the first promulgation of the Gospel it was rejected, except by those who had been called to salvation, alike by the two great divisions of mankind. To the Jew it was a stumblingblock, because it contradicted the received interpretation of the prophets; and they whose carnal imagination was lifted up with the hope of a triumphant, conquering Messiah, overlooked the predictions of a contrary description, and could not perceive, like the apostles, till their minds were opened to understand the Scriptures, that He must suffer before He entered into glory; that He must endure the shameful death of the cross before He sat down on the right hand of God, waiting till his enemies are made his footstool. To the Greeks, who delighted in the speculations of a vain philosophy, by which they had been, as it were, taken prisoners, the Gospel appeared foolishness; yet when patiently and fairly examined, the former would find it, by happy experience, to be the power of God, and the latter the wisdom of God. And so it has proved in every age, and will to the end of the dispensation. Since the fall of Adam there has never been but one way of salvation. Placed on his creation under the covenant of works, and under circumstances more favourable than any of his descendants, he yielded to temptation, and transgressed the single command given him as a test of his obedience. His son and all his descendants being born subsequent to his fall, inherited a depraved nature, and had neither the will nor the ability to keep the law. If saved, then, they must be saved through the obedience of another, and that can only be the promised seed of the woman, whom even the Korán declares to be free from original sin, and intimates, by the designation of the Son of Mary, to have had no human father. Misled by Gnostic fancies, Mohammed maintains that he was raised to heaven without having endured the cross. His death on it, however, was indispenable to satisfy the justice of his offended Father; and to this sacrifice, to which we look back with adoring gratitude, the believers of preceding times are alike indebted for salvation, who received a good report through faith, yet received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not

be made perfect. The believer in one Supreme Being, who, like the Moslem, is jealous of his honour, no less than the ignorant idolater, as the Hindoo who worships gods many and lords many, the work of his own hands, must alike submit to the wisdom of God, who has declared that he is to all, except those who come unto him through Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant, *a consuming fire*. The proud turn aside, rejecting this way of God's providing, with indignation, or so explain it, that it becomes another Gospel: the humble enter upon it with gratitude, and find peace and joy in believing. To convert the Moslem we must faithfully lay before him the unadulterated truth in all its simplicity, in full reliance on the Holy Spirit, who can alone enlighten the understanding, and bring it home to the heart. Humanly speaking, it is a far more difficult undertaking than to bring to the acknowledgment of the truth the heathen, who possess but a traditional religion, and, as they advance in civilization, can only retain it by allegorizing their absurd fables, and trying to discover, in the adventures of their gods, the personification of the powers of nature, or the attributes of one pervading spirit, the soul of the world. The Moslem has been instructed in the truth as far as his prophet knew it, and, unlike the Greek or Hindoo philosopher, he discriminates between the creation and the Creator. When living, as in Hindustan and Tartary, he cannot but feel the superiority both of his theology and his morality; and among the degenerate Christians of Syria and Egypt, like the Jew, he is too prejudiced to read the New Testament, and judges from personal observation, confirmed by passages in the Korán, that they worship three gods. He is proud of having a book to guide him, which he believes came down from heaven; and knowing his prophet to be later than Moses or Jesus, he believes, as that book informs him, that he enjoys a perfect revelation, free from the errors with which preceding ones had been intermixed and corrupted, and which was made known that he might be brought into the right path.

The Missionary to the Moslems must make the Korán his special study; and he must acquaint himself with Islam as reduced to practice, whether as modified by circumstances, as

in Hindustan, which has been debased by the adoption of heathen ceremonies, or in its purer form, in Turkey or Northern Africa, where it is the dominant religion, and retains more of its original proud, stern, and uncompromising character. This is requisite, in order to meet the cavils of those who object to Christianity; and at times it may be wise to expose the sophistry of the arguments by which the Moslems maintain their faith; but controversy has a tendency to rouse a sturdy, and sometimes a passionate opposition, and even when carried on with ability and temper is more apt to silence than convince. The prophets, indeed, expose and ridicule the folly of those who make and worship images, and many of their strong, sarcastic passages might be read with a beneficial effect to the heathen. But the apostles, as a general rule, instead of combating error, set forth and recommend the truth. That, received in the love of it, will at once banish error of every description, whereas we may confute errors one by one, till we have satisfied the heathen that those are no gods that are made by hands, and the Moslem that his prophet was an impostor, without being able to fill up the blank that is left, without being able to bring them to Jesus, that they may enjoy spiritual life. Islam, as presented in the Korán, and freed from the details of its jurisprudence and its ritual, is, in fact, nothing but the republication of the covenant of works, on the unsupported testimony of one who declares himself sent by God to reveal it as the last of his prophets. To this the Christian opposes his remedial scheme, which alone can bring pardon and peace to an awakened conscience, by shewing that the author and finisher of our faith is at once

"The sinner's friend, and sin's eternal foe."

Mohammed boasts of no new discoveries in religion: he only professes to revive the religion of Abraham. Great use may be made of this concession. The Moslem should be pressed to read his genuine history, with the comments of St. Paul, and then he will perceive that it is not himself, but the Christian, who follows the religion of the patriarch.

The Missionary should endeavour to predispose his hearers in favour of his message, by satisfying them, in his own

behaviour, that it deserves the title of good news ; that he himself has found it an antidote of care, and righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; confirming the apostle's assurance that it has the promise of this life, as well as of that which is to come. The foundation of his teaching must be laid deep in the doctrine of human corruption; but the disease and its remedy must be exhibited together. If we shew that in Adam we lost our original righteousness, we should be no less careful to shew, that "*if by one man's sin judgment came upon all to condemnation, even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life; for as by one man's disobedience many are made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.*" (Rom. v.) "*The first man was made a living soul, but the last Adam, the Lord from heaven, a life-giving Spirit: for as we have borne the image of the earthly, so shall we bear the image of the heavenly.*" It must be explicitly stated that this original righteousness can never be regained by any austerities or services, or even by works positively good; but that faith must lay hold on the Redeemer's perfect righteousness, and put it on for justification, which will admit him into privileges and enjoyments superior to those which Adam lost. The self-righteous Moslem, once convinced of sin, no longer seeking for objections, will deserve his name, for he will resign himself, not with humble submission, but with joyful gratitude to God, as an affectionate Father, and will find the Son of Mary, the Word of God, to be fairer than Mohammed or any of the children of men, the chiefest among ten thousand, and altogether lovely. Then Islam, which, like the moon, shines only with a borrowed light, will pale its ineffectual fires before the healing and warming, as well as enlightening beams of the rising Sun of Righteousness; and the converted disciple of Mohammed, who has wearied himself with fasting, and prayer, and alms, and pilgrimages, and meditation, to work out his own salvation, and has made no progress, will thankfully accept eternal life as a gift, and will recommend, as a guide to others, Jesus the Son of God, whom he himself has found to be *THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE.*